Linguistic Studies
In English

Explained by
Dr. ABDU ELRAJIHI



Linguistic Studies

In English







المقدمة

نحمد الله تعالى ونستعينه، ونستهديه، ونصلي ونسلم على نبينا محمد، وعلى آله وصحبه، وبعد،

فهذه النصوص موجهة إلى طلاب قسم اللغة العربية ممن يرغبون في دراسة علم اللغة Linguistics، وتهدف إلى ما يلي:

1 ـ تعريف الطالب بلغة هذا العلم.

2 ـ تعريفه بأهم المصطلحات اللغوية.

3 ـ تعريفه بالمنهج العلمي الذي يسلكه علم اللغة.

4 ـ إقناعه بأن دراسة علم اللغة تقتضي معرفة بلغة أجنبية واحدة على الأقل، والذي لا شك فيه أنه أهم ما قُدم من علم اللغة حتى الآن قُدم في اللغة الإنجليزية.

وقد نتوقع أن يكتسب الطالب ـ بعد دراسة هذه النصوص ـ المهارات الآتية:

1 ـ مهارة إدراك اللغة العلمية.

2 ـ مهارة تحديد المصطلحات.

3 ـ مهارة التصنيف العلمي للظواهر اللغوية.

4 ـ مهارة ممارسة القراءة بالإنجليزية في هذا التخصص.

وقد اخترنا لهذا الكتاب عدداً من النصوص ـ بشيء من التصرف ـ من كتاب:
Jeorge Yule (1985) The Study of Language. Cambridge University Press.

وهي تنتظم الفروع الرئيسية في علم اللغة، الأصوات، والصرف، والنحو، والدلالة، واكتساب اللغة الأولى.

ليس المطلوب من مثل هذه الدروس ترجمة النصوص إلى العربية، وما ينبغي أن يكون ذلك هدفاً لها، بل قراءتها قراءة واعية مرات متعددة لفهمها والتعود على قراءة نظائرها، واستخلاص المصطلحات المهمة فيها، ثم التعبير عن ذلك بالعربية والتعليق عليها، أو إضافة ما يراه الدارس خاصاً بتراثه اللغوي أو الاستعمال المعاصر في تنوعاته المختلفة.

والله نسأل أن يسهم ذلك في توطين «المنهج العلمي» في دراسة العربية.

عبده الراجحي

بيروت في 28 من ذي الحجة 1427هـ

18 من يناير (كانون الثاني) 2007م

- 1 -
Phonetics

The general study of the characteristics of speech sounds is called **Phonetics**. Our primary interest will be in **articulatory phonetics**, which is the study of how speech sounds are made, or «articulated». Other areas of study within phonetics are **acoustic phonetics**, which deals with the physical properties of speech as sound waves «in the air», and **auditory** (or perceptual) **Phonetics** which deals with perception, via the ear, of speech sounds.

أنت تعلم أن «علم اللغة» Linguistics هو العلم الذي يدرس اللغة على منهج «العلم» science، ومن ثَمَّ فهو يحلِّل اللغة على مستويات تسمى مستويات التحليل اللغوي Levels of lingnistic analysis، وهذه المستويات أربعة:

المستوى الصوتي

المستوى الصرفي

المستوى التركيبي

المستوى الدلالي

أما المستوى الصوتي فهو موضوعنا هنا، وهو أول المستويات؛ لأنه يحلل أبسط عنصر في اللغة وهو الصوت المفرد.

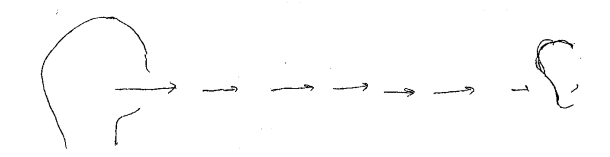
علم الأصوات Phonetics إذن يدرس خصائص أصوات الكلام، وهو ثلاثة فروع:

1 ـ **علم الأصوات النطقي**: articulatory phonetics، يدرس إنتاج الأصوات؛ أي نطقها.

2 ـ **علم الأصوات الأكوستيكي أو الفيزيائي**: acoustic phonetics، يدرس الخصائص الفيزيائية للأصوات حين تنتقل في الهواء على هيئة موجات waves.

3 ـ علم الأصوات السمعي: auditory phonetics، يدرس طريقة استقبال الأصوات عن طريق الأذن.

• علم الأصوات إذن يمكن توضيحه على النحو الآتي:



استقبال الأذن لها **انتقالها في الهواء على هيئة موجات** **نطق الأصوات**

وسوف يكون اهتمامنا منصباً على الفرع الأول وحده؛ أي علم الأصوات النطقي.

المصطلحات

علم الأصوات	Phonetics
علم الأصوات النطقي	articulatory phonetics
نطق	articulation
علم الأصوات الفيزيائي	acoustic phonetics
موجات صوتية	sound waves
علم الأصوات السمعي	auditory phonetics

Voiced and voiceless sounds

In articulatory phonetics, we investigate how speech sound are produced using the fairly complex oral equipment we have. We start with the air pushed out by the lungs up through the trachea (the wind pipe) to the larynx. Inside the larynx are your vocal cords which take two basic positions.

1 - when the vocal cords are spread apart, the air from the lungs passes between them unempeded. Sounds produced in this way are described as **voiceless**.

2 - When The vocal cords are drawn together, the air from the lungs repeatedly pushes them apart as it passes through, creating a vibration. Sounds produced in this way are described as **voiced**.

نحن نستعمل «جهاز النطق»، وهو جهاز معقد جداً، لإنتاج أصوات الكلام، ونبدأ من مرور الهواء من الرئتين عبر القصبة الهوائية إلى الحنجرة حيث توجد الأحبال الصوتية. ومعنى ذلك أن نطق الأصوات يحدث في حالة الزفير وليس في حالة الشهيق. والأحبال الصوتية تتخذ وضعين أساسيين:

الأول: حين يكون الحبلان متباعدين فيمر الهواء بينهما، وتوصف الأصوات التي تنطق في هذا الوضع بأنها أصوات **مهموسة**.

الثاني: حين يكون الحبلان متضامين؛ فإن الهواء يَدْفع كلا منهما بعيداً عن الآخر دفعاً متكرراً حتى يتمكن من المرور، محدثاً بذلك **ذبذبة**، والأصوات التي تنطق في هذا الوضع توصف بأنها أصوات **مجهورة**.

انطق مثلاً كلمتي «دين» و «تين» ثم انطق الصوت الأول من كل منها عدة مرات (د ـ د ـ د ـ د)، (ت ـ ت ـ ت ـ ت) ثم ضع يدك على رأسك، أو إصبعك على حنجرتك، سوف تحس ذبذبات مع الصوت الأول، وانعدام هذه الذبذبات مع الصوت الثاني.

المصطلحات

مجهور	Voiced
مهموس	Voiceless
القصبة الهوائية	«Wind pipe» Trachea
حنجرة	Larynx
الأحبال الصوتية	Vocal cords
ذبذبة	Vibration

الصوامت المهموسة في العربية: ت/ ث/ ح/ خ/ س/ ش/ ص/ ط/
ف/ ق/ ك/ هـ = 12 صامتاً.

الصوامت المجهورة: ب/ ج/ د/ ذ/ ر/ ز/ ض/ ظ/ ع/ غ/ ل/
م/ ن/ وَ/ يَ = 15 صامتاً

أما الصوائت فمجهورة كلها.

Place of articulation

/

Once the air has passed through the larynx, it comes up out through the mouth and/or the nose.

Most consonant sounds are produced by using the tongue and other parts of the mouth to constrict, in some way, the shape of the oral cavity through which the air is passing. The terms used to describe many sounds are those which denote the place of articulation of the sound, that is, the location, inside the mouth, at which the constriction takes place.

To describe the place of articulation of most consonant sounds, we can start at the front of the mouth and work back - we can also keep the voiced-voiceless distinction in mind and begin using the symbols of the phonetic alphabet to denote specific sounds. These symbols will be enclosed within square brackets [ ].

حين يمر الهواء خلال الحنجرة فإنه يصعد ويخرج خلال الفم، أو الفم والأنف، أو الأنف. وتنتج منظم **الصوامت** باستخدام اللسان وأجزاء من الفم، وذلك بحصر شكل **التجويف الضموي** الذي يمر من خلاله الهواء، حيث نستطيع أن نحدد **موضع النطق**، أي المكان الذي يحدث فيه الحصر في الفم.

الصوائت/ الحركات Vowels

أنت تعرف الآن أن الصوامت تنطق بإغلاق مجرى الهواء إغلاقا كاملاً أو جزئياً، أما الصوائت فإن مجرى الهواء معها يكون حراً طليقاً دون إغلاق أو اعتراض، وحيث إنه من الصعب وصف «موضع النطق» للصوائت وصفاً دقيقاً فإن التمييز بينها يتم بوصف وضع اللسان من حيث ارتفاعه وانخفاضه ومن حيث تقدمه في الفم أو تأخره.

والصوائت يطلق عليها أيضاً «حركات»، وهي في العربية ثلاث قصيرة وثلاث طويلة.

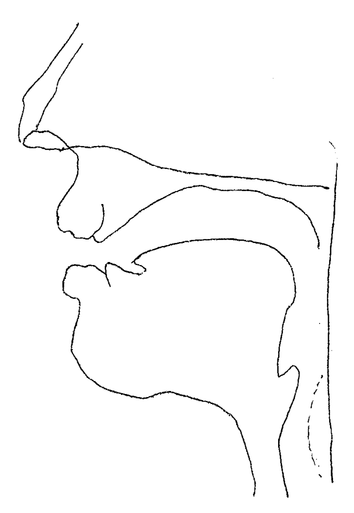
فالصوائت القصيرة: الفتحة والكسرة: والضمة [a] - [i] [u]

والطويلة: الألف والياء والواء [a:] [i:] [u:]

وهناك صوائت عربية أخرى معروفة مثل الإمالة نحو الياء، وهو ظاهرة كانت منتشرة في العربية الفصحى، ولا يزال يُقرأ بها القرآن الكريم في عدة مراكز، ولا تزال منتشرة في مناطق كثيرة من العالم العربي، والإمالة نحو الواو وهي قليلة إلى حد ما، كما ورد في بعض القراءات من نطق «الصلاة» بتفخيم اللام وإمالة الألف نحو الواو، وهي التي تنتشر في بعض العاميات في مثل (فُوق) و (كُوم) و (حُوش).

الصوائت المركبة: Diphtongs

وهو صائت يقوم على الربط بين صائت ونصف حركة وذلك مثل نطقنا لكلمة (بَيْت) و (فَوْق) فنحن نبدأ بالصائت القصير الفتحة ونربطه بنصف الحركة «الياء أو الواو» [aj] [aw].



حدِّد على هذا الرسم أسماء أعضاء النطق، واكتبها بالعربية والإنجليزية.

وإذا أردنا أن نصف موضع النطق لمعظم الصوامت فإننا نبدأ عادة من مقدمة الفم ثم نخطو إلى الخلف خطوة خطوة. ومن الأفضل أن تقرن تحديدك لموضع النطق بسمة الجهر أو الهمس. وقد توصل العلماء إلى طريقة دقيقة لكتابة هذه الأصوات تسمى الألفباء الصوتية الدولية IPA حيث جرى العرف العلمي أن نضع هذه الرموز بين قوسين مربعين [ ].

الصوامت الشفوية Bilabials

وذلك باستخدام الشفتين كلتيهما: ب ـ م

الصوامت الأسنانية الشفوية: Labiodentals

باستخدام الأسنان العليا والشفة السفلى: ف

الصوامت الأسنانية: Dentals

وذلك بوضع طرف اللسان بين الأسنان العليا والسفلى: ث ـ ذ ـ ظ

الصوامت الأسنانية اللثوية: Alveo - dental

باستخدام مقدمة اللسان مع مقدمة اللثة خلف الأسنان مباشرة: ت ـ د ـ ض ـ ط ـ ل ـ ن

الصوامت اللثوية: Alveolars

باستخدام مقدمة اللسان مع اللثة: ر ـ ز ـ س ـ ص

الصوامت اللثوية الحنكية: Alveo - palatals

باستخدام اللسان مع مؤخرة اللثة ومقدمة الحنك الصلب: ج ـ ش

صوامت وسط الحنك: Palatals

باستخدام اللسان مع وسط الحنك: يَ

صوامت أقصى حنكية:

باستخدام اللسان مع أقصى الحنك الليّن: خ/ غ/ ك/

أصوات لهوية:

باستخدام مؤخر اللسان مع منطقة اللهاة: ق

أصوات حلقية:

هذه لا يتدخل فيها اللسان، وتنطق من الحلق: ع/ ح

أصوات حنجرية Glottals

وتنطق من بين الأحبال الصوتية: أ ـ هـ

وتسمى الهمزة **وقفة حنجرة** Glottal stop

الألف باء الصوتية الدولية (International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA

أشرنا إلى أن هذه وسيلة علمية لتصوير النطق بطريقة دقيقة، وهي مكونة من رموز كتابية مستقاة من لغات مختلفة، والمبدأ الذي بنيت على أساسه: أن يكون هناك رمز كتابي واحد للصوت الواحد: one grapheme for one phoneme وذلك من أجل تحاشي المشكلات الكثيرة في الكتابة في اللغات المختلفة، ففي الإنجليزية مثلاً يرمز إلى صوت [س] ب: c, s، لنطق صوت [س] وصوت [ك]، وتستخدم الألمانية مثلاً ثلاثة رموز كتابية لصوت واحد [ش] = sch.. وهكذا.

وسوف نقتصر هنا على رموز الألفباء الصوتية الدولية التي تقابل الأصوات العربية:

الهمزة	?	ض	d
ب	b	ط	t
ت	t	ظ	δ
ث	ε	ع	c
ج	d3	غ	ɣ
ح	h	ف	f
خ	x	ث	Q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	δ	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	هـ	h
ش	ʃ	وَ	w
ص	S	يَ	j

Manner of artication

So far, we have concentrated on describing consonant sounds in terms of where They are articulated. We can, of course, describe the same sounds in terms of how they are articulated - Such a discription is necessary if we wish to be able to differentiate between some sounds which, in the preceding discussion, we have placed in the same Category. For xample, we can say that [t] and [s] are both voiceless alveolar sounds. How do they differ? They differ in their manner of articulation, that is, in the way they are pronounced. The [t] sound is one of a set of sounds called stops and [s] sound is one of a set called fricatives.

إن وصف الأصوات من حيث موضع النطق لا يكفي وحده، بل لا بد من معرفة «كيفية» النطق حتى نتمكن من أن نميز بين الأصوات التي تنتمي إلى مجموعة واحدة في موضع نطقها؛ فصوت الكاف والخاء مثلاً من أقصى الحنك لكن الأول غير الثاني من حيث كيفية النطق. والمصطلحات التالية هي الأكثر شيوعاً في وصف طريقة النطق:

1 ـ صوامت وقفية Stops

وهذه الصوامت تحدث عن طريق إغلاق مجرى الهواء إغلاقاً كاملاً، وتسمى أحياناً صوامت انفجارية Plosives لأنك تغلق مجرى الهواء ثم تطلقه مرة واحدة محدثاً انفجارا مع صدور الصوت. والصوامت الوقفية في العربية: [ب ـ ت ـ د ـ ط ـ ض ـ ك ـ ق ـ الهمزة]

2 ـ صوامت احتكاكية Fricatives

وهي تحدث عن طريق إغلاق مجرى الهواء إغلاقاً غير كامل بحيث يتسرب الهواء من فتحة ضيقة جداً محدثاً «احتكاكاً»، ويمكنك أن تضع كفك أمام شفتيك عند نطق هذه الأصوات فتشعر بالهواء الخارج منهما، وهذا لا يحدث مع الصوامت الوقفية.

والصوامت الاحتكاكية في العربية:

[ف ـ ث ـ ذ ـ ظ ـ س ـ ز ـ ص ـ ش ـ خ ـ غ ـ ح ـ ع ـ هـ]

صوامت مركبة Affricates

وذلك حين نجمع وقفتين قصيرتين بينهما بعض الاحتكاك، وفي العربية صامت مركب واحد هو [ج] الفصيحة كما ينطقها المتقنون للقرآن الكريم، ولذلك جاء رمزها في الألفباء الصوتية الدولية مركباً من رمزين [dz]

صوامت أنفية Nasals

تنطق معظم الصوامت بأن نرفع الجزء الأخير من الحنك اللين بحيث يمنع مرور الهواء إلى الأنف. أما إذا انخفض هذا الجزء فإن الهواء يمر إلى الأنف محدثاً صوامت أنفية، وفي العربية صامتان أنفيان: [م] ـ [ن].

- 2 -
Words and word - formation processes

In some respects, the study of the processes whereby new words come into being in a language like English seems relatively straightforward. Despite the disagreements among scholars in this area, there do seem to be some regular processes involved and, in the Following sections, we shall cover the technical terms used to describe these processes and identify examples currently in use which are the result of those processes.

الكلمات وعمليات صياغتها

يعالج هذا القسم الطرق التي تصاغ بها الكلمات الجديدة، والكاتب يركز هنا على اللغة الإنجليزية، غير أن معظم هذه الطرق، أو هذه العمليات تجري أيضاً في اللغات جميعها مع بعض الاختلاف من حيث الشيوع ومن حيث النوع، وهذه العمليات تبدو كُلِّية universal تتسم بالاطراد. وسوف نقدم هنا المصطلحات التي تتصل بعمليات الصياغة لكلمات جديدة مما نرى أمثلة له في العربية.

Borrowing

One of the most common sources of new words in English is the process simply labeled **borrowing**, that is, the taking over of words from other languages. Throughout its history, the English language has adopted a vast number of **loan-words** from other languages, including **alcohol** (Arabic), boss (Dutch), Croissant (French), lilac (Persian), piano (Italian), yogurt (Turkich). Other languages of course, borrow terms from English.

A special type of borrowing is describad as **loan-translation**, or **calque**. In this process, there is a direct translation of the elements of a word into the borrowing language. An interseting example is the French term **ungratte-ciel**, which literally translates as a **scrape - sky**, and is used for what, in English, is normally referred To as a skyscraper. The English word **superman** is thonght to be a loan-translation of the German **übermensch**.

الاقتراض:

وهذه عملية معروفة في اللغات الإنسانية جميعها، إذ لا نعرف لغة تعيش منعزلة عن لغات أخرى قريبة أو بعيدة، من العائلة اللغوية نفسها أو من غيرها. وكما يحدث الأخذ والعطاء في جوانب النشاط الإنساني المتنوع يحدث أيضاً في اللغات. والاقتراض يحدث عادة بثلاث وسائل - لم يذكر الكاتب إلاّ اثنتين -:

الأولى: النقل الحرفي للكلمة المقترضة مثل الكلمة الإنجليزية alcohol من «الكحول» العربية، و croissant من الفرنسية، ويحدث هذا الآن كثيراً في العربية المعاصرة مثل تليفون، وتليفزيون، وتليفريك، وفوتيّ، ومرسي.

الثانية: النقل غير الحرفي؛ بأن تأخذ الكلمة المُقترضة بعض صفات اللغة المُقترِضة، وهو ما يعرف في العربية بالتعريب، وفي الإنجليزية والفرنسية بالنجلزة والفرنسة. وظاهرة الألفاظ «**المُعَرَّبة**» شائعة جداً في العربية. في القديم وفي الحديث؛ فمع حركة الترجمة الكبرى في العصر العباسي صيغت كلمات عربية جديدة بهذه الوسيلة مثل: الموسيقى، والفيزيقا، والبوطيقا. . . . . وفي العصر الحديث غلبت هذه العملية على غيرها من عمليات الصياغة من مثل: الدبلوماسية، والديمقراطية، والتكويد، والجنرالات، والإمبريالية، والأجنبية. . . .

الثالثة: الترجمة إلى اللغة المقترِضة، وهو في العربية كثير أيضاً وبخاصة في أوائل العصر الحديث حيث ترجمت كلمات من مثل Train إلى قِطار (لأنه يشبه قطار الإبل في القديم حيث جمل يقطر وراءه عدداً من الجمال)، و automobile إلى سيارة، و airoplane إلى طائرة. . . والآن computer إلى حاسوب، وnormalization إلى تطبيع، و privatization إلى خصخصة وقد كانت لغة كرة القدم تقدم منذ عدة عقود باللغة الإنجليزية مع شيء من التعريب مثل: جول، وباك، ورفري، وأوت، وكورنر، وأف سايد. . . إلخ، والآن دخلت صياغة الترجمة حيث شاعت الآن ألفاظ: هدف، ومدافع، وحَكَم، تماس، وركنية أو زاوية وتسلل. . . إلخ.

Compounding

In some of those examples we have just considered, there is a joining of two separate words to produce a single form. This combining process, technically known as compounding, is very common in languages like German and English but much less common in languages like French and Spain.

Obvious English examples would be fingerprint, wallpaper and textbook . This very productive source of new terms has been well-documented in English and German, but can also be found in totally unrelated langues.

التركيب:

وهي عملية معروفة في عدد من اللغات حيث يجري صياغة **كلمة واحدة** من كلمتين منفصلتين لتؤدي معنى واحداً، وهذه الظاهرة شائعة جداً في الألمانية والإنجليزية؛ ففي الألمانية مثلاً كلمة Buch (كتاب) وكلمة (Wörter) (كلمات) جرى تركيبها في كلمة واحدة Das Wörterbuch (معجم). وهكذا في الإنجليزية كلمة print (طبعة)، و Finger (إصبع) ـ Fingerprint (البصمة)، ومن paper و wall ـ Wallpaper، ومن book و text ـ textbook.

ونعرف في العربية شيئاً من هذا مثل قولنا، هو يعمل **صباحَ مساءَ**، فهذا تركيب لا يعني أنه يعمل صباحاً ومساءً، بل هما الآن كلمة واحدة تعني أنه لا يتوقف عن العمل. وهكذا، هو جاري **بيتَ بيتَ**، أي هو مجاور لي مجاورة ملاصقة، وهكذا في (بينَ بينَ)، وحيصَ بيصَ.

وتلجأ العلوم في صياغة مصطلحاتها إلى مثل هذه العملية، فتركب مصطلحاً واحداً من كلمتين مثل: النفس لغوي، والنفس حركي، والبرمائي. أو بتركيب حرف النفي «لا» مع كلمة أخرى مثل: اللاأدرية وهي فرقة إسلامية تتبع قول «لا أدري»، ويتحدثون الآن عن اللاسامية، واللامنتمي، واللامعقول، واللافلزّ. كما تم تركيب

كلمة واحدة من ثلاث كلمات في الكويت هي أداة التعريف «ال» وحرف الجر «الباء» و «دون» لتطلق على هؤلاء الذين لا تعرف لهم جنسية محددة: **الْبُدُون**.

في العربية مصطلح معروف قريب من هذا يسمى «النحت» وهو أن نصوغ كلمة واحدة من كلمتين أو أكثر مثل: البَسْمَلة أي قول: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، والحَوْقلة، أي قوله: لا حول ولا قوة إلاّ بالله.

Blending

This combining of two separate forms to produce a single new term is also present in the process called blending. However, blending is typically accomplished by taking only the beginning of one word and joining it to the end of the other Word. In some parts of the United States, There's a product which is used like gasoline, but is made from alcohol, The «blended» Term for referring to this product is **gasohol**. If you wish to refer to the combined effects of smoke and fog, there's the term **smog**. Some other commonly used examples of blending are **brunch** (breakfast/ lunch), **motel** (motor/ hotel).

النحت:

إذا كان التركيب يبقي الكلمتين كاملتين في كلمة واحدة كما رأيت في الأمثلة السابقة فإن blending وهو ما يمكن أن يقابل النحت في العربية، يركب كلمة من كلمتين على أن يحتفظ بالجزء الأول من الكلمة الأولى والجزء الأخير من الكلمة الثانية وذلك مثل كلمتي gasoline وكلمة alcohol حيث جرى نحت كلمة جديدة في الولايات المتحدة: gasohol، وكذلك كلمة smog المنحوتة من كلمتي smoke و fog.

وفي العربية جرى ذلك كثيراً وبخاصة في النسب إلى القبائل المكونة من كلمتين مثل: عبد قيس، وعبد شمس، فقالوا: عبقسي وعبشمي. وفي أيامنا ينسبون إلى المتخرج في كلمة دار العلوم فيقولون: دَرْعمي. وفي علم اللغة مصطلحات من مثل: صوصرفي وصرنحوي. أي الفرع الذي يدرس الأصوات في علاقتها بالصرف، والصرف في علاقته بالنحو.

Conversion

A change in the function of a word, as, for example, when a noun comes to

be used as a verb (without any reduction) is generally known as **conversion** - Other labels for this very common process are **category change** and **functional shift,** A number of nouns such as paper, butter, bottle, vacation, can, via the process of conversion, come to be used as verbs, as in the following sentences He's papering the bedroom walls, Have you buttered the toast?.

التحويل Conversion

وذلك بتحويل الاسم إلى فعل دون تغيير (في الإنجليزية)، ويطلق عليه أحياناً **تغيير الفصيلة** category change أي من فصيلة الاسم إلى فصيلة الفعل، أو **التحول الوظيفي** Functional shift. وذلك مثل كلمة paper التي أمكن تحويلها إلى فعل، وكلمة butter.

وفي العربية تحول الاسم إلى فعل لكن لا يبقى الاسم على صورته بل لا بد من إعطائه الصياغة الفعلية، ويشيع هذا كثيراً في العصر الحديث نتيجة التعريب من مثل: الرقمنة ويُرَقْمِن، والحاسوب ويحوسب، والتأميم ويؤمم، والسياسة ويُسَيِّس، والمذهب ويُمَذهب، فنسمع كثيراً هذه الأيام أنه يُسَيِّس هذه المسألة، ويُمَذْهب الأزمة.

ويبدو أن كلمة paper بتحويلها إلى فعل قد انتقلت إلى بعض البلاد العربية حيث نسمع يُوَرِّق بيته، والمصدر معه التَّوْرِيق.

Acronyms

Some new words are formed from the initial letters of a set of other words. These acronyms often consist of capital letters, as in NATO, NASA or UNESCO, but can also lose their capitals to become everyday terms such as laser ('light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation'), radar ('radio detecting and ranging') and scuba ('self contained underwater breathing apparatus'), You might even hear talk of a snafu which is reputed to have its origins in esituation normal, all fouled up'.

الاختصار:

شاع في اللغات الأوروبية اختصار تراكيب كثيرة بالاحتفاظ بالحروف الأولى فقط، مثل **«الناتو»** NATO والأونيسكو UNESCO وناسا NASA وهي تكتب بحروف

كبيرة، غير أن مختصرات أخرى اشتهرت وشاع استعمالها بحروف صغيرة مثل الليزر laser والرادار radar.

وهذه الظاهرة قليلة جداً في العربية التراثية؛ إذ نجد بعض الأمثلة من مثل قولهم في نهاية نص منقول (اهـ) أي انتهي النقل. غير أن ذلك بدأ يشيع في الاستعمال العربي المعاصر مثل: ج م ع أي: جمهورية مصر العربية، وش م ل، وش م م، أي شركة مساهمة لبنانية، وشركة مساهمة مصرية.

Derivation

In our list so far, we have not dealt with what is by far the most common words-formation process to be found in the production of new English words. This process is called derivation , and it is accomplished by means of a large number of small 'bits' of the English language which are not usually given separate listing in dictionaries. These small 'bits' are called affixes and a few examples are the elements un-,pre-,ful,-less,-ish,-ism,-ness which appear in words like unhappy, misrepresent, prejudge, joyful, careless, boyish, terrorism and sadness.

Prefixes and suffixes

In the preceding group of words, it should be obvious that some affixes have to be added to the beginning of a word (e.g. un-). These are called prefixes. The other affix forms are added to the end of the word (e.g.-ish) and are called suffixes. All English words formed by this derivational process use either prefixes or suffixes, or both. Thus, mislead has a prefix, disrespectful has both a prefix and a suffix, and foolishness has two suffixes.

Infixes

There is a third type of affix, not normally to be found in English, but fairly common in some other languages. This is called an infix and, as the term suggests, it is an affix which is incorporated inside another words. It is possible to see the general principle at work in certain expressions, occasionally used in fortuitous or aggravating circumstances by emotionally aroused English speakers: Hallebloodylujah!, Absogoddamlutely! We could view these 'inserted' forms as a special version of infixing. However, a much better set of examples can be provided from Kamhmu, a language spoken in South East

Asia. These examples are taken from Merrifield et al. (1962).

('to drill') see - srnee ('a drill')

('to chisel') toh - trnoh ('a chisel')

('to eat with a spoon') hiip - hrniip ('a spoon')

('to tie') hoom - hrnoom ('a thing with which to tie')

It can be seen that there is a regular pattern whereby the infix - rn- is added to verbs to form corresponding nouns. If this pattern is generally found in the language and you know that the form krnap is the Kamhmu word for 'tongs', then you should be able to work out what the corresponding verb 'to grasp with tongs' would be. It is kap.

الاشتقاق derivation

لا شك أن الاشتقاق من أكثر الوسائل استعمالاً في صياغة الكلمات الجديدة، على أن الباحث قد اقتصر هنا على عملية **الإلحاق** affixation وهي أن تلحق الكلمة حرفاً أو أكثر في أول الكلمة أو في داخلها أو في آخرها.

والأول هو ما يعرف **بالسابقة** prefix مثل: unhappy و replay و mislead. والثاني ما يعرف باللاحقة suffix مثل careless و boyish.. أما الثالث فيكاد يكون غير موجود في الإنجليزية وهو ما يعرف بالإقحام infix.

وهذه الظاهرة موجودة شائعة في العربية؛ في السوابق والمقحمات واللواحق، فالسوابق من مثل همزة التعدية في أخرج وأكرم، أو الدخول في الزمان والمكان مثل: أصبح وأبحر، ونون المطاوعة مثل انكسر وانفتح، وسابقة الطلب مثل استفهم واستغفر.

والمقحمات مثل تاء الافتعال مثل ابتلع وافتتح واللواصق كثيرة جداً مثل لاحقة التأنيث، والتثنية والجمع السالم.

على أن «الاشتقاق» في العربية أوسع من ذلك كثيراً، لأنها لغة اشتقاقية، فلا يتوقف فيها على الإلحاق، بل على قوالب خاصة للاشتقاق مثل اشتقاق اسم الفاعل واسم المفعول واسم المكان والزمان واسم الآلة...

المصطلحات

صياغة الكلمات	word - formation
كلّي	universal

من المصطلحات اللغوية السائدة في العقود الأخيرة وبخاصة بعد تشومسكي الذي أكد أن اللغات ليست مختلفة، بل تسيطر عليها ظواهر مشتركة؛ لأنها تمثل «الإنسان» بما يمتلكه من خصائص واحدة على تعدد الأجناس والألوان والبقاع. فكل اللغات لها أنظمة صوتية وصرفية ونحوية ودلالية، ولا توجد لغة إلاّ وفيها صوامت وصوائت، وضمائر شخصية، وأخرى إشارية، وحروف جر، وظروف للزمان والمكان، وأسماء وأفعال... إلخ.

اقتراض	Borrowing
الكلمات المقترضة	loan - words
ترجمة كلمة مقترضة	loan - translation/ calque
التركيب	compounding
النحت	blending
التحويل	conversion
وظيفة	function
فصيلة [اسم - فعل - حرف - مذكر - مؤنث]	category
تغيير الفصيلة	category change
تحول وظيفي	Functional shift
الحروف الأولى من تركيب ما	Acronyms

derivation	الاشتقاق
affixation	الإلحاق
prefix	سابقة
infix	مُقحَمَة [عنصر مُقحم داخل الكلمة]
suffix	لاحقة

-3-
Morphology

In many languages, what appear to be single forms actually turn out to contain a large number of 'word-like' elements. For example, in Swahili spoken throughout East Africà, the form nitakupenda conveys what, in English, would have to be represented as something like I will love you. Now, is the Swahili form a single word? If it is a 'word', then it seems to consist of a number of elements which, in English, turn up as separate 'words'. A very rough correspondence can be presented in the following way:

ni - ta -ku -penda

'I' 'will' 'you' 'love'

It seems as if this Swahili 'word' is rather different from what we think of as an English 'word'. Yet, there clearly is some similarity between the languages, in that similar elements of the whole message can be found in both. Perhaps a better way of looking at linguistic forms in different languages would be to use this notion of 'elements' in the message, rather than to depend on identifying 'words'. The type of exercise we have just performed is an example of investigating forms in language, generally known as morphology. This term, which literally means 'the study of form', was originally used in biology, but, since the mid nine-tenth century, has also been used to describe that type of investigation which analyzes all those basic 'elements' which are used in a language. What we have been describing as 'elements' in the form of a linguistic message are more technically known as morphemes.

Morphemes

We do not actually have to go to other languages such as Swahili to discover that 'word-forms' may consist of a number of elements. We can recognize that English word-forms such as talks, talker, talked and talking must consist of one element talk, and a number of other elements such as - s, -er, -ed, -ing. All these elements are described as morphemes. The definition of a morpheme is "a minimal unit of meaning or grammatical function". Let's clarify this definition with some examples. We would say that the word

reopened in the sentence The police reopened the investigation consists of three morphemes. One minimal unit of meaning is open, another minimal unit of meaning is re- (meaning 'again'), and a minimal unit of grammatical function is - ed (indicating past tense). The word tourists also contain three morphemes. There is one minimal unit of meaning, tour, another minimal unit of meaning - ist (meaning 'person who does something'), and a minimal unit of grammatical function-s (indicating plural).

Free and bound morphemes

From these two examples, we can make a broad distinction between two types of morphemes. There are free morphemes, that is morphemes which can stand by themselves as single words, e.g. open and tour. There are also bound morphemes, that is, those which cannot normally stand alone, but which are typically attached to another form, e.g. re-, ist, -ed, -s. you will recognize this last set as a group of what we have already described in Chapter 7 as affixes. So, all affixes in English are bound morphemes. The free morphemes can be generally considered as the set of separate English word-forms. When they are used with bound morphemes, the basic word-form involved is technically known as the stem. For example:

Undressed			carelessness		
un-	dress	-ed	care	-less	-ness
prefix	stem	suffix	stem	suffix	suffix
(bound)	(free)	(bound)	(free)	(bound)	(bound)

It should be noted that this type of description is a partial simplification of the morphological facts of English. There are a number of English words in which the element which seems to be the 'stem' is not, in fact, a free morpheme. In words like receive, reduce, repeat we can recognize the bound morpheme re-, but the elements- ceive, -duce and - peat are clearly not free morphemes. There is still some disagreement over the proper characterization of these elements and you may encounter a variety of technical terms used to describe them. It may help to work with a simple distinction between forms like - ceive and - duce as 'bound stem' and forms like dress and care as 'free stem'.

Free morphemes

What we have describe das free morphemes fall into two categories. The first category is that set of ordinary nouns, adjectives and verbs which we think of as the words which carry the 'content' of messages we convey. These free morphemes are called lexical morphemes and some examples are: boy, man, house, tiger, sad, long, yellow, sincere, open, look, follow, break.

The other group of free morphemes are called functional morphemes. Examples are: and, but, when, because, on, near, above, in, the, that, it. This set consists largely of the functional words in the language such as conjunctions, prepositions, articles and pronouns.

Bound morphemes

The set of affixes which fall into the 'bound' category can also be divided into two types. One type we have already considered in chapter 7 are the derivational morphemes. These are used to make new words in the language and are often used to make words of a different grammatical category from the stem. Thus, the addition of the derivational morpheme-ness changes the adjective good to the noun goodness.

A list of derivational morphemes will include suffixes such as the - ish in foolish, the - ly in badly and the - ment in payment. It will also include prefixes such as re-, pre-, ex-, dis-, co-, un-, and many more.

The second set of bound morphemes contain what are called inflectional morphemes. These are not used to produce new words in the English language, but rather to indicate aspects of the grammatical function of a word. Inflectional morphemes are used to show if a word is plural or singular, if it is past tense or not, and if it is a comparative or possessive form. Examples of inflectional morphemes at work can be seen in the use of - ed to make jump into the past tense form jumped, and the use of ûs to make the word boy into the plural boys. Other examples are the - ing, -s, -er, -est and - 's inflections in the phrases Myrna is sitting, she sings, she is smaller, the smallest and Myrna's house. Note that, in English, all inflectional morphemes are suffixes.

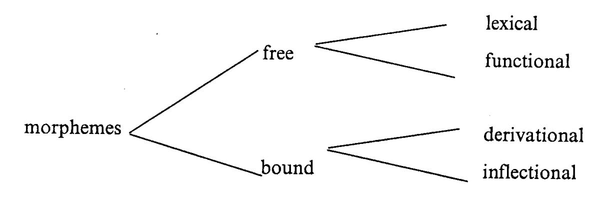
Morphological description

Armed with all these terms for the different types of morphemes, you can now take most sentences of English apart and list the 'elements'. As an

example, the English sentence The boy's wildness shocked the teachers contain the following elements:

the	boy	-'s	wild	-ness	
(functional)	(lexical)	(inflectional)	(lexical)	(derivational)	
shock	-ed	the	teach	-er	-s
(lexical)	(inflectional)	(functional)	(lexical)	(derivational)	(inflectional)

As a useful way to remember the different categories of morphemes, the following chart can be used:



الصرف morphology

رأيت حتى الآن أن علم الأصوات يدرس أبسط عنصر في اللغة، وهو الصوت المفرد ثم رأيت «الوسائل» أو «العمليات» التي يغلب استعمالها في صياغة الكلمات في اللغات.

أما الصرف فهو المستوى الثاني من مستويات التحليل اللغوي، وهو يدرس «الكلمة المفردة» أو العناصر التي تشبه الكلمة. والوحدة التي تستخدم في التحليل الصرفي تسمى **المورفيم** morpheme التي حاول عدد من الدارسين ترجمتها إلى العربية لكننا نفضل إبقاءها مُعرَّبة من أجل الاحتفاظ بمفهومها في علم اللغة.

والمورفيات نوعان:

1 ـ مورفيم حر Free morpheme، وهو العنصر الذي يستعمل غير ملتصق بكلمة أخرى، مثل: رجل وكتاب وكتب وذَهَب وواو العطف والظروف وأسماء الإشارة.

وأنت ترى من هذه الأمثلة أن المورفيم الحر نوعان، نوع يدل على معنى،

وهو ما يعرف بالمورفيمات المعجمية lexical morphemes أو ما يعرف بالكلمات ذات المحتوى content words. ونوع يؤدي وظيفة نحوية functional morpheme، ويعرف أيضاً بالكلمات الوظيفية أو الكلمات النحوية functional or grammatical مثل أسماء الإشارة والظروف وغيرها، فاسم الإشارة «هذا» لا يدل على معنى محدد وليس له محتوى معين، ووظيفته النحوية هي الإشارة.

2 ـ مورفيم مقيد bound morpheme

وهو المورفيم الذي لا يمكن استعماله إلاّ ملتصقاً بكلمة، مثل أداة التعريف «ال»، وتاء التأنيث، وعلامة التثنية والجمع. . . إلخ.

وهو أيضاً نوعان:

أ ـ مورفيمات اشتقاقية derivational morphemes

وهي التي تضاف إلى الكلمة لصياغة كلمة جديدة، مع تغيير نوع الكلمة، فكلمات مثل: مصر، ولبنان، وعِلْم، كلها أسماء، فإذا لحقها مورفيم النسب وهو الياء المشددة تحولت هذه الأسماء إلى صفات: مصريّ، ولبنانيّ، وعِلْميّ. وكلمات مثل أكرم، وسبّح، وانطلق، كلها أفعال، فإذا لحقها مورفيم المصدرية تحولت إلى أسماء: إكرام، وتسبيح، وانطلاق.

ب ـ مورفيمات تصريفية inflectional morphemes

وهذه المورفيمات لا تغير نوع الكلمة من اسم إلى فعل مثلاً، بل تبين إحدى جهات aspects الكلمة، كالتفريق بين المذكر والمؤنث، أو المفرد والمثنى والجمع، أو الماضي والمضارع والأمر. . . إلخ، فأداة التعريف في العربية تبقى الكلمة اسما لكنها ميزت المعرفة من النكرة، وكذلك علامة التأنيث. . .

مدرس	المدرس
مدرس	مُدَرسة
مدرسان	مدرسون

وقد كان الوقت كي تعرف الفرق بين مصطلحي الاشتقاق derivation وتصريف

iflection في علم اللغة حتى لا يختلط مفهومهما بما كان عليه هذان المصطلحان في الصرف العربي. فالأول يؤدي إلى تغيير نوع الكلمة، أما الثاني فلا.

الوصف المورفولوجي morphological description

تستطيع الآن أن تحلل أية جملة تحليلاً صرفياً على النحو الآتي:

الحرية أعظم شيء في الوجود.

ال: مورفيم مقيد وظيفي تصريفي.

حر: مورفيم حر معجمي.

ية: مورفيم مقيد وظيفي اشتقاقي، لأنه غير نوع الكلمة من صفة إلى اسم.

أَفْعل (أعظم): صيغة أفعل التفضيل مورفيم مقيد وظيفي تصريفي.

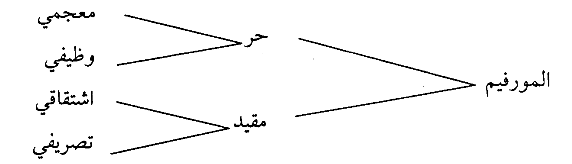
شيء: مورفيم حر معجمي.

في: مورفيم حر وظيفي.

ال: مورفيم مقيد وظيفي تصريفي.

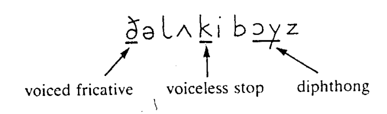
وجود: مورفيم حر معجمي.

والشكل الآتي يوضح لك أنواع المورفيمات

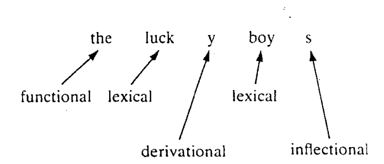


Phrases and sentences: grammar

We have already considered two levels of description used in the study of language. We have described linguistic expressions as sequences of sound which can be represented phonetically For example:



we can take same the same linguistic expression and describe it as a sequence of morphemes. for example:



With these descriptions, we could characterize all the words of a language in terms of their phonetic and morphological make-up.

Grammar

However, we have not yet accounted for the fact that these words can only be combined in a limited number of patterns. We recognize that the phrase the lucky boys is a well-formed piece of English, but that the following two 'phrases' are not at all well-formed:

*boys the lucky *lucky boys the

(Beside each of these ill-formed structures there is an asterisk, which is a

conventional way of indicating that a structure is ill-formed, or ungrammatical).

So we need a way of describing the structure of phrases and sentences which will account for all of the grammatical sequences and rule out all the ungrammatical sequences. Providing such an account involves us in the study of grammar. We should note that this term is frequently used to cover a number of different phenomena.

Types of grammar

Each adult speaker of a language clearly has some type of 'mental grammar', that is, a form of internal linguistic knowledge which operates in the production and recognition of appropriately structured expression in that language. This 'grammar' is subconscious and is not the result of any teaching. A second, and quite different, concept of 'grammar' involves what might be considered 'linguistic etiquette', that is, the identification of the 'proper' or 'best' structures to be used in a language. A third view of 'grammar' involves the study and analysis of the structures found in a language, usually with the aim of establishing a description of the grammar of English, for example, as distinct from the grammar of Russian or French or any other language. There are, in fact, other ways in which the term 'grammar' may be used. However, given these three concepts, we can say that, in general, the first may be the most interest to a psychologist, since it deals with what goes on in people's mind, the second may be of interest to a sociologist, since it has to do with people's social attitudes and values. While the third is what occupies many linguists, since the concern is with the nature of language, often independently of the users of the language. The study of grammar, in this narrow sense of the study of the structure of expressions in a language, has a very long tradition.

The parts of speech

You may already be familiar with many of the terms used in a grammatical description, particularly the terms for the parts of speech, as illustrated in this sentence:

The	lucky	boys	saw	the	clowns	at
article	adjective	noun	verb	article	noun	preposition
the	circus	and	they	chered	loudly	
article	noun	conjunction	pronoun	verb	adverb	

Traditional grammar

Terms like these, used to label the grammatical categories of words in sentences, come from traditional grammar, which has its origins in the description of languages like Classical Latin and Greek. Since there were well-established grammatical descriptions of these older languages, it seemed appropriate to adopt the existing categories from these descriptions and apply them in the analysis of languages like English. After all, Latin and Greek were the languages of scholarship, religion, philosophy and 'knowledge', so the grammar of these languages was taken to be the best grammar.

Traditional categories

In a addition to the terms used for the parts of speech, traditional grammatical analysis also uses a number of other categories, including 'number', 'person', 'tense'. 'voice' and 'gender'. These categories can be discussed in isolation, but their role in describing language structure becomes clearer when we consider them in terms of concord or agreement. For example, we say that the verb likes 'agrees with' the noun boy in the sentence. The boy likes his dog. This agreement is partially based on the category of number, that is, whether the noun is singular or plural. It is also based on the category of person, which covers the distinctions of first person involving any others. The different forms of English pronouns are usually described in terms of person and number, in that we have first person singular (I), second person singular (you), third person singular (he, she, it) and so on. So, in the sentence The boy likes his dog, we have a noun boy which is third person singular and the verb likes 'agrees with' the noun.

In addition, the form of the verb must be described in terms of another category, that of tense. In this case, the verb is in the present tense. Which result in a different form from the past tense (e.g. liked) And, the sentence is in the active voice, rather than the passive voice, which would have produced the form The boy is liked by his dog.

Our final category is that of gender, which is used to describe the agreement between boy and his in our example sentence. In English, we have to describe this relationship in terms of natural gender, mainly derived from a biological distinction between male and female. The 'agreement' between boy and his is based on a distinction English makes between reference to male

the sex of the animal is irrelevant (it, its).

This type of biological distinction is quite different from the more common distinction found in languages which use grammatical gender. In this latter sense, nouns are classified according to their gender class and, typically, articles and adjectives take different forms to 'agree with' the gender of the noun. Spanish, for example, has two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine, illustrated by the expression el sol ('the sun') and la luna ('the moon') respectively. German uses three genders, masculine der Mond ('the moon'), feminine die Sonne ('the sun') and neuter das Feuer ('the fire'). Note the different forms of the articles in both the Spanish and German examples, corresponding to differences in the gender class of the nouns. Also note that the gender distinction is not based on a distinction in sex. A young girl is biologically 'female', but the German noun has das Madchen is grammatically 'neuter'. The French word le livre´'the book' is grammatically masculine, but we would not consider books to be biologically male. So, the grammatical category of gender is very usefully applied in describing a number of languages (including Latin), but may not be particularly appropriate for English.

Traditional analysis

The notion of 'appropriateness' of analytic categories has not always been a consideration. In traditional grammar books, tables such as the following were often presented for English, constructed by analogy with similar tables of forms in Latin grammars. The forms for the Latin verb amare´'to love' are listed on the right.

	First person,singular i love	amo
Present	Second person,singular you love	amas
tense	Third person,singular he loves	anat
active	First person, plural we love	amanus
voice	Second person, plural you love	amatis
	Third person, plural they love	amant

Note that each of the Latin verb forms is different, according to the categories of person and number, yet the English forms are, with one exception, the same, Thus it makes some sense, in describing a language like Latin, to have all those descriptive categories to charaterize verb forms, yet it seems a rather extravagant descriptive system for English, The influence of Latin, however, goes beyond the descriptive labels.

The prescriptive approach

It is one thing to adopt the grammatical labels e.g. 'noun', 'verb' to categorize words in English sentences; it is quite another thing to go on to claim that the structure of English sentences should be like the structure of sentences in Latin. Yet this was an approach taken by some grammarians, mainly in eighteenth century England, who set out rules for the correct or 'proper' use of a language is still to be found today and may be best characterized as the prescriptive approach. Some familiar examples of prescriptive rules for English sentences are as follows:

(1) You must not split an infinitive.

(2) You must not end a sentence with a preposition.

There are, of course, many such rules which generations of English teachers have attempted to instill in their pupils via corrections such as the following¤

I shall visit my uncle at Easter. John is taller than I.

It may, in fact, be a valuable part of one's education to be made aware of this 'linguistic etiquette', or the 'proper' use of the language. If it is a social expectation that someone who writes well should obey these prescriptive rules, then social judgments such as "poorly educated" may be made about someone who does not follow these rules. However, it is worth considering the probable origins of these rules and asking whether they are appropriately applied to the English language. Let us take one example: "you must not split an infinitive".

Captain Kirk's infinitive

The infinitive in English has the form to + the verb, e.g. to go, and can be used with an adverb such as boldly. So, at the beginning of each televised 'Star Trek' episode. Captain Kirk uses the expression To boldly go. This is an example of a split infinitive. Captain Kirk's English teacher should have taught him to say To go boldly. If captain Kirk had been a Roman astronaut, speaking Latin, he would have used the expressions Ire ('to go') and audacter ('boldly'). Now, in saying Ire audacter in Latin, Captain Kirkus would not even have the opportunity to split his infinitive (ire), because Latin infinitives are single words and just do not split.

So, it would be very appropriate in Latin grammar to say that you cannot split an infinitive. But is it appropriate to carry this idea over into English, where the infinitive does not consist of a single word, but of two words, to and go If it is a typical feature of the use of English that speakers and writers do produce forms such as to boldly go or to solemnly swear. Then we may wish to say that there are structures in English which differ from those found in Latin, rather than to say that the English forms are 'bad' because they are breaking a supposed rule of Latin grammar.

The descriptive approach

It may be that using a well-established grammatical description of Latin is a useful guide for studying some languages (e.g. Italian or Spanish), is less useful for others (e.g. English), and may be absolutely misleading if you want to describe some non-European languages. This last point became clear to those linguists who wanted to describe the structure of north American Indian languages at the end of the nineteenth century. The categories and rules which were appropriate for Latin grammar just did not seem to fit the Indian languages encountered. As a consequence, throughout the present century, a rather different approach has been taken. The analyst collects samples of the language he or she is interested in and attempts to describe the regular structures of the language as it is used, not according to some view of how it should be used. This is called the descriptive approach and it is the basis of most modern attempts to characterize the structure of different languages.

Structural analysis

One type of descriptive approach is called structural analysis and its main concern is to investigate the distribution of forms (e.g. morphemes) in a language. The method employed involves the use of 'test-frames' which can be sentences with empty slots in them. For example:

The———————————— makes a lot of noise.

I heard a————————————yesterday.

There are a lot of forms which can fit into these slots to produce good grammatical sentences of English e.g. donkey, car, dog, radio, child, etc.

Consequently, we can suggest that because all of these forms fit in the same test-frame, they are likely to be examples of the same grammatical category. The label we give to this grammatical category is, of course, 'noun'. However, there are many forms which do not fit the test-frames above. Examples would be Kathy, it, the dog, a car, and so on. For these forms, we require different test-frames, which could be like this:

————————— makes a lot of noise.

I heard ————————— yesterday.

Among the forms which fit these test-frames are Kathy, Margaret, Thatcher, it, the dog, an old car, the professor with the Scottish accent, and many more. Once again, we can suggest that these forms are likely to be examples of the same grammatical category. The common label for this category is 'noun phrase'. By developing a set of test-frames of this type and discovering what forms fit the slots in the test-frames, you can produce a description of at least somè aspects of the sentence structures of a language.

Immediate constituent analysis

An approach with the same descriptive aims is called immediate constituent analysis. The technique employed in this approach is designed to show how small constituents (or components) in sentences go together to form larger constituents. In the following sentence, we can identify eight constituents (at the word level:) Her father brought a shotgun to the wedding.

How do those eight constituents go together to form constituents at the phrase level? Does it seem appropriate to put the words together as follows¤ brought a, father brought, shotgun to, to the? We don't normally think of these combinations as phrases in English. We are more likely to say that the phrase-like constituents here are combinations of the following types: Her father, a shotgun, the wedding, which are noun phrases: to the wedding, which is a prepositional phrase: brought a shotgun, which is a verb phrase.

This analysis of the constituent structure of the sentence can be represented in different types of diagrams. One type of diagram simply shows the distribution of the constituents different levels.

Her	father	brought	a	shotgun	to	the	wedding

This type of diagram can be used to show the types of forms which substitute for each other at different levels of constituent structure.

<table>
<tr><td>Her</td><td>father</td><td>brought</td><td>a</td><td>shotgun</td><td>to</td><td>the</td><td>wedding</td></tr>
<tr><td>The</td><td>man</td><td>saw</td><td>the</td><td>thief</td><td>in</td><td>a</td><td>car</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Sam</td><td>took</td><td colspan="2">Anne</td><td>to</td><td colspan="2">Paris</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">He</td><td colspan="3">came</td><td colspan="3">here</td></tr>
</table>

Label and bracketed sentences

An alternative type of diagram is designed to show how the constituents in sentence structure can be marked off via labeled brackets. The first step is to put brackets (one on each side) around each constituent, and then more brackets around each combination of constituent. For example:

[[[The] [dog]] [[followed] [[the] [boy]]]]

With this procedure, the different constituents of the sentence are shown at the word level- [The dog followed the boys].

We can, of course, label each constituent with grammatical terms such as 'Art' (= article), 'N' (= noun), 'NP' (= noun phrase), 'V' (= verb), 'VP' (= verb phrase) and 'S' (= sentence). In the following diagram, these labels are placed beside each bracket which marks the beginning of a constituent. The

result is a labeled and bracketed analysis of the constituent structure of the sentence.

$$\Big[_{S}\ \big[_{NP}\ [_{Art}\ \text{The}]\ [_{N}\ \text{dog}]\big]\ \big[_{VP}\ [_{V}\ \text{followed}]\ \big[_{NP}\ [_{Art}\ \text{the}]\ [_{N}\ \text{boy}]\big]\big]\Big]$$

This type of analysis is not restricted to the description of English sentence. We can take a sample sentence from a language with a structure quite different from English and apply the same type of analysis.

النحو: العبارات والجمل

والآن، ماذا بعد الأصوات، والصرف؟

إن الأصوات في تتابعها، والمورفيمات في مواقعها لا بد أن تدخل جميعاً في نوع ما من «التنظيم» أو التركيب على نحو ما نراه في عبارة phrase أو في جملة sentence. وهذا التركيب له قوانينه، ففي العربية مثلاً نقول:

نجح الطلاب المجتهدون نجاحاً باهراً.

فتركيب: «الطلاب المجتهدون» لا يُقبل أن يكون:

المجتهدون الطلاب، ولا: طلاب ال مجتهدون ال،

وكذلك: نجح الطلاب، لا يقبل فيه: «الطلاب نجح». وهكذا في الجملة كلها لا يقبل:

مجتهدون ال طلاب نجح ال باهرا نجاحا.

إذن المسألة ليست «رَصّ» العناصر اللغوية رصا عشوائية، بل إن لها قوانين خاصة في علاقتها الأفقية. والعلم الذي يدرس هذه التراكيب بما فيها من علاقات حتى يميز المقبول منها من غير المقبول هو علم النحو.

أمامنا إذن مصطلحان:

المقبول نحوياً — grammatical

غير المقبول نحويا — ungrammatical

وقد جرى العرف العلمي على أن نضع نجمة * قبل غير المقبول نحوياً.

وهذه من المصطلحات المألوفة لديك في الوصف النحوي، على اختلاف بين اللغات في تحديد هذه الأقسام؛ فالجملة الإنجليزية التي بين أيدينا في النص تحدد هذه الأقسام على النحو الآتي:

أداة:	The
صفة:	lucky
اسم:	boys
فعل:	saw
أداة:	the
اسم:	clowns
حرف جر:	at
أداة:	the
اسم:	circus
رابط:	and
ضمير:	they
فعل:	cheered
حال (ظرف)	loudly

وقد سار النحو العربي منذ القديم على تقسيم الكلمة ثلاثة أقسام فقط؛ هي الاسم والفعل والحرف. وقد نقد كثير من اللغويين المحدثين هذا التقسيم واقترحوا تقسيماً آخر يقترب من التقسيم المعروف في اللغات الأوروبية «انظر في ذلك كتاب أستاذنا الدكتور تمام حسان: اللغة العربية مبناها ومعناها.

وهذا الفرع من المصطلحات وغيرها من مثل تحليل الأسماء من حيث العدد والجنس، وفكرة المطابقة، والزمن، كل أولئك ينتمي إلى ما يعرف بالنحو التقليدي Traditional grammar والنحو التقليدي عادة له اتجاهان:

أ ـ اتجاه معياري prescriptive، أي وصف التراكيب والجمل كما ينبغي أن تكون، وقد كانت الإنجليزية مثلاً تحلل تحليلاً معيارياً في ضوء اللغة اللاتينية التي كان يُنظر إليها على أنها «النموذج» الأعلى للغات الأوروبية، ومن هنا يكثر في هذا الاتجاه التنبيهات التصويبية في التراكيب.

ب ـ الاتجاه الوصفي descriptive

وهو وصف التراكيب والجمل كما هي دون أي تدخل ودون الاستناد إلى «قيم معيارية».

ومن وسائل هذا الوصف استخدام ما يعرف بـ **تحليل المكوِّنات المباشرة** Immediate constituent analysis. وهذه الطريقة تهدف إلى إظهار كيف تنتظم «المكونات الصغرى» في مُكَوِّنات أكبر.

مثلاً:

اشترى الأب كتاباً جديداً لابنه.

المكونات المباشرة هي: [[اشترى] + [[ال] أب]] [كتاباً] [جديداً] [[ل] [ابن] [ـه]]

فأنت ترى كلمة الأب مثلاً بها مكونان مباشران: ال + أب، ينتظمان في مكوّن أكبر: الأب، وهكذا [لابنه]، ثم جميع المكونات تنتظم في مكوّن أكبر هو الجملة التي تضمها الأقواس الكبرى، وهذه الطريقة من التوضيح تسمى التحليل عن طريق الأقواس.

ثم إن هذه الطريقة من التحليل الأفقي، وهو ما يطلق عليه الآن syntagmatic مهم في التحليل الرأسي paradigmatic.

فالجملة السابقة يمكن تحليلها على النحو الآتي:

اشترى	**الأب**	**كتاباً**	**جديداً**	**لابنه**
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
أحضر	**الأخ**	**ساعة**	**رائعا**	**لابنته**
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
استعار	**العم**	**قلما**	**مفيدا**	**لأخيه**
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
قدّم	**الخال**	**كرة**	**مُلَوَّنا**	**لصديقه**
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
قدّم	**الصديق**	**معطفاً**	**إنجليزياً**	**لجاره**
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
....	....	....	....	....

لكنك لا تستطيع بناءً على هذا التحليل للمكونات أفقياً ورأسياً أن تقول مثلاً:

- أكل الأب كتاباً.
- ضرب الأب كتاباً.
- أقام الأب كتاباً.

ولا أن تقول:

- اشترى الأب البحر المتوسط.
- اشترى الأب يوماً جديداً لابنه.
- اشترى الأب نجمة لامعة في السماء لابنه.

ولا أن تقول:

- اشترى القلم كتاباً.
- اشترى حصاننا الأبيض كتاباً.
- اشترى الحجر كتاباً.

المصطلحات

Phrase	
sentence	
grammar	
parts of speech	
tradional grammar	
concord/ agreemend	المطابقة
tense	
active voice	
passive voice	
gender	
grammatical gender	الجنس النحوي
prescriptive	
descriptive	
Immediate consituent malysis	
bracketed sentences	
syntagmatic	
paradigmatic	

-5-
Semantics and pragmatics

Semantics and pragmatics are concerned with aspects of meaning in language. Generally, work in semantics deals with the description of word-and sentence-meaning, and, in pragmatics, with the characterization of speaker-meaning.

Neither God nor Humpty Dumpty

Before we investigate these two areas, we should be clear about what aspects of 'meaning' we are discussing. We cannot assume that there is some God-given, meaningful connection between a word in a language and an object in the world. It cannot be the case that we know the meaning of the word chair, for example, because this label has some natural, 'God-given' connection to the object you are sitting on. In order to hold that view, you would be forced to claim that God is an English speaker and that labels such as chaise (French), Stuhl (German), and sedia (Italian) are, in some sense, 'unnatural' ways of referring to the same object. Instead, a more reasonable approach would lead us to see the word chair as a term which is arbitrary (that is, has no natural connection to the object), but which is conventionally used by English speakers when they wish to refer to that type of object that we sit on.

This notion of the meaning of words being based on a convention within the language should also lead us to avoid the view of word-meaning expressed by Humpty Dumpty in Lewis Carroll's Through the Looking Glass:

"When I use a word", Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone. "it means what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less".

If applied generally, this suggestion is surely a recipe for chaos in human language. Could one really say That melon is blue and choose it to mean 'that chair is comfortable'? It might work in some rather special, probably humorous, situation, but the notion that we can make words mean whatever we personally choose them to mean cannot be a general feature of linguistic meaning.

Conceptual versus associative meaning

What we set out to describe in semantics, then, are those aspects of conventional meaning which we assume are conveyed by the words and sentences of a language. One further distinction in the description of 'meaning' is also worth noting. When linguists investigate the meaning of words in a language, they are normally interested in characterizing the conceptual meaning and less concerned with the associative or stylistic meaning of words. Conceptual meaning covers those basic, essential components of meaning which are conveyed by the literal use of a word. Some of the basic components of a word like needle in English might include 'thin, sharp, steel, instrument'. These components would be part of the conceptual meaning of needle. However, you may have 'associations', or 'connotations', attached to a word like needle which lead you to think of 'painful' whenever you encounter the word. This 'association' is not treated as part of the conceptual meaning of needle. In a similar way, you may associate the expression low-calorie, when used to describe a product, with 'good for you', but we would not want to include this association within the basic conceptual meaning of the expression. Poets and advertisers are, of course, very interested in using terms in such a way that their associative meanings are evoked. and some linguists do investigate this aspect of language use. However, in this chapter we shall be more interested in characterizing what constitutes the conceptual meaning of terms.

Semantic features

So, how would a semantic approach help us to understand something about the nature of language? One way it might be helpful would be as a means of accounting for the 'oddness' we experience when we read 'English' sentences such as the following:

The hamburger ate the man

My cat studied linguistics

A table was listening to some music

Notice that the oddness of these sentences does not derive from their syntactic structure. According to some basic syntactic rules for forming English sentences (such as those presented in chapter 10), we have well-structured sentences:

The hamburger ate the man

NP V NP

This sentence is syntactically good, but semantically odd. Since the sentence The man ate the hamburger is perfectly acceptable, what is the source of the oddness we experience? One answer may relate to the components of the conceptual meaning of the noun hamburger which differ significantly from those of the noun man, especially when those nouns are used as subjects of the verb ate. The kinds of nouns which can be subjects of the verb ate must denote entities which are capable of 'eating'. The noun hamburger does not have this property (and man does)' hence the oddness of the first sentence above.

We can, in fact, make this observation more generally applicable by trying to determine the crucial component of meaning which a noun must have in order to be used as the subject of the verb ate. Such a component may be as general as 'animate being'. We can then take this component and use it to describe part of the meaning of words as either +animate (=denotes an animate being) or éanimate (=does not denote an animate being).

This procedure is a means of analyzing meaning in terms of semantic features. Features such as +animate, -animate; +human, -human; +male, -male, for example, can be treated as the basic features involved in differentiating the meanings of each word in the language from every other word. If you were asked to give the crucial distinguishing features of the meanings of this set of English words´table, cow, girl, woman, boy, man, you could do so by means of the following diagram:

	table	cow	girl	woman	boy	man
animate	-	+	+	+	+	+
human	-	-	+	+	+	+
male	-	-	-	-	+	+
adult	-	-	-	+	-	+

From a feature analysis like this, you can say that at least part of the basic meaning of the word boy in English involves the components (+human, +male, -adult). You can also characterize that feature which is crucially required in a noun in order for it to appear as the subject of a verb,

supplementing the syntactic analysis with semantic feature:

The ——————————is reading a book.

N (+human)

This approach then gives us the ability to predict what nouns would make the above sentence semantically odd. Examples would be table or tree, or dog, because they all have the feature (-human).

Lexical relations

The approach which has just been outlined is not without problems. For many words in a language it may not be so easy to come up with neat components of meaning. If you try to think of which components or features you would use to distinguish the noun advice, threat and warning, for example, you will have some idea of the scope of the problem. Part of the problem seems to be that the approach involves a view of words in a language as some sort of 'containers', carrying meaning-components. Of course, this is not the only way in which we can think of the meaning of the word conceal, for example, you might simply reply "it's the same as hide", or give the meaning of shallow as "the opposite of deepö, or the meaning of daffodil as "it's kind of flowerö. In doing so, you are not characterizing the meaning of a word in terms of its component features, but in terms of its relationship to other words. This procedure has also been used in the semantic description of languages and is treated as the analysis of lexical relation. The types of lexical relations which are usually appealed to are defined and exemplified in the following sections.

Synonymy

Synonymy are two or more forms, with very closely related meanings. Which are often, but not always, intersubstitutable in sentences. Examples of synonyms are the pairs broad- wide, hide-conceal, almost- nearly, cab- taxi, liberty- freedom, answer- reply.

It should be noted that the idea of 'sameness of meaning' used in discussing synonymy is not necessarily 'total sameness'. There are many occasions when one word is appropriate in a sentence, but its synonym would be odd. For example, whereas the word answer fits in this sentence: Karen had only one answer correct on the test, its near-synonym, reply, would sound odd.

Antonymy

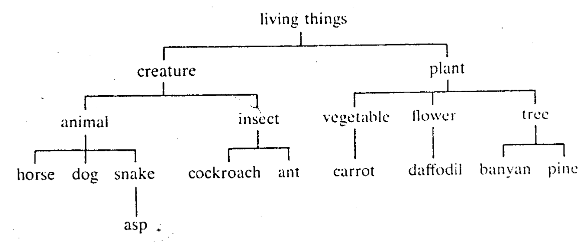
Two forms with opposite meaning are called antonyms, and commonly used examples are the pairs quick- slow, big- small, long- short, old- young, above- below, male- female, alive- dead.

Antonyms are usually divided into two types, those which are 'gradable', and those which are 'non- gradable'. Gradable antonyms, such as the pair big- small, can be used in comparative constructions bigger than- smaller than, and the negative of one member of the pair does not necessarily imply the other. For example, if you say that dog is not old, you do not have to mean that dog is young. With non- gradable antonyms, also called 'complementary pars', comparative constructions are not normally used the expressions deader or more dead sound strangè, and the negative of one member does imply the other. For example, that person is not dead does indeed mean that person is alive.

Hyponymy

When the meaning of one form is included in the meaning of another, the relationship is described as hyponymy, and some typical example pairs are daffodil- flower, dog- animal, poodle- dog, carrot- vegetable, banyan- tree. The concept of 'inclusion' involved here is the idea that if any object is a daffodil, then it is necessarily a flower, so the meaning of flower is 'included' in the meaning of daffodil. Or, daffodil is a hyponym of flower.

When we consider hyponymous relations, we essentially looking at the meaning of words in some type of hierarchical relationship. You could, in fact, represent the relationships between a set of words such as animal, ant, asp, banyan, carrot, cockroach, creature, daffodil, dog, flower, horse, insect, living things, pine, plant, snake, tree and vegetable as a hierarchical diagram in the following way:



From this diagram, we can say that 'horse is a hyponym of animal' or that 'ant is a hyponym if insect'. We can also say that two or more terms which share the same superordinate (higher up) term are co-hyponyms. So, horse and dog are co-hyponyms, and the superordinate term is animal.

The relation of hyponymy captures the idea of 'is a kind of', as when u give the meaning of a word by saying "an asp is a kind of snake". It is often the case that the only thing some people know about the meaning of a word in their language that it is a hyponym of another term. That is, you may know nothing more about the meaning of asp other than that it is a kind of snake.

Homophony, homonymy and polysemy

There are three other, less well-known terms which are often used to describe relationships between words in a language. The first of these is homophony. When two more or more different (written) forms have the same pronunciation, they are described as homophones. Some examples are bare-bear, meat- meet, flour- flower, pail- pale, sew- so.

The term homonymy is used when one from (written and spoken) has two or more unrelated meanings. Examples of homonyms are the pairs bank (of a river)- bank (financial institution), pupil (at school)- pupil (in the eye) and mole on skin)- mole (small animal). The temptation is to think that the two types of bank must be related in meaning. They are not. Homonyms are words which have quite separate meanings, but which have accidentally come to have exactly the same form.

Relatedness of meaning accompanying identical form is technically known as polysemy, which can be defined as one form' written or spoken having multiple meanings which are all related by extension. Examples are the word head, used to refer to the object on top of your body, on top of a glass of beer, on top of a company or department; or foot (of person, of bed, of mountain), or run (person does, water does, colors do).

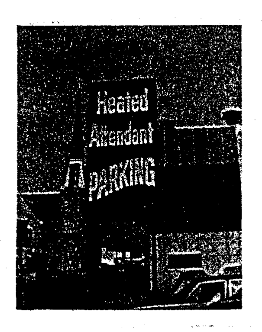
The distinction between homonymy and polysemy is not always clear cut. However, one indication of the distinction can be found in the typical dictionary entry for words, if a word has multiple meanings'polysemic, then there will be a single entry, with a numbered list of the different meanings of the word. If two words are treated as homonyms, they will typically have two separate entries. You could check in your dictionary and probably find that the different meanings of words like head, get, run, face and foot are treated as

examples of polysemy, whereas mail, bank, sole and mole are treated as examples of homonymy.

These last three lexical relations are, of course, the basis of a lot of word-play, particularly used for humorous effect. The Pillsbury Flour Company once took advantage of homophony to promote a brand of flour with the slogan Everybody kneads it. And if u have come across this riddle: Why are trees often mistaken for dogs?' then you will have encountered the use of homonymy in the answer: Because of their bark.

Interpreting what speakers mean

So far, we have concentrated on meaning in language as a product of the meaning of words. There are, however, other aspects of meaning which are not derived solely from the meanings of the words used in phrases and sentences. When we read or hear pieces of language, we normally try to understand not only what words mean, but what the writer or speaker of those words intended to convey. The study of 'intended speaker meaning' is called pragmatics.



Driving by a parking lot, you may see a sign like the one in the picture below. Now, you know what each of these words means, and you know that the sign is advertising a place where you can park your 'heated attendant'. You take attendant, you heat him up, and this is the place where you can park him: Alternatively, it may indicate a place where parking will be carried out by attendants who have been heated. The words may allow these interpretations, but you would normally understand that you can park your car in this place, that it's a heated area, and that there will be an attendant to look after the car. So, how do u decide that the sign means this? (Notice that the sign does not even have the word car on it.) Well, you use the meanings of the words, in combination, and the context in which they occur, and you try to arrive at what the writer of the sign intended his message to convey. The nation of the

speaker's or writer's intended meaning is a crucial element.

Consider another example. Taken from a newspaper advertisement, and think not only about what the words might mean, but also about what the advertiser intended them to mean: FALL BABY SALE. In the normal context of our present society, we assume that this store has not gone into the business of selling young children over the counter, but rather that it's advertising clothes for babies. The word clothes does not appear, but our normal interpretation would be that the advertiser intended us to understand his message as relating to the sale of baby clothes and not, we trust, of babies.

Context

In our discussion of the two preceding examples, we have emphasized the influence of context. There are, of course, different kinds of context to be considered. One kind is best described as linguistic context, or co-text. The co-text of a word is the set of other words used in the same phrase or sentence. This surrounding co-text has a strong effect on what we think the word means. We have already noted that the word bank is a homonym, a form with more than one meaning. How do we usually know which meaning is intended in a particular sentence? We usually do so on the basis of linguistic context. If the word bank is used in a sentence together with words like steep or overgrown, we have no problem deciding which type of 'bank' is meant. By the same token, when we hear someone say that he has to ôget to the bank to cash a checkö, we know from the linguistic context which type of bank is intended. More generally, we know what words mean on the basis of another type of context, best described as physical context. If you see the word BANK on the wall of a building in a city, the 'physical' location will influence your interpretation. Our understanding of much of what we read and hear is tied to the time and place in which we encounter linguistic expression.

Deictic expressions

In a more consistent way, some words in the language cannot be interpreted at all unless the physical context, especially the physical context of the speaker, is known. These are words like here, there, this, that, now, then, yesterday, as well as most pronouns such as I, you, him, her, them. Some sentences of English are virtually impossible to understand if we don't know who is speaking, about whom, where and when. For example: They'll have to do that tomorrow, because they aren't here now.

Out of context, this sentence is extremely vague. It contain a large number of deictic expressions´they, that, here, tomorrow, noẁ which depend for their interpretation on the immediate physical context in which they were uttered. Such expressions are very obvious examples of bits of language which we can only understand in terms of speaker's intended meaning. If someone says, ôI like working hereö, does she mean 'in this office', or 'in this building', or 'in this part of town', or 'in this country', or something else entirely? A word like here is a deictic expression´a means of 'pointing' with languagè, which can only be interpreted in terms of the location that the speaker intends to indicate.

Presupposition

When a speaker uses a deictic expression like here, in normal circumstances, she is working with an assumption that the hearer knows which location is intended. In a more general way, speakers continually design their linguistic message on the basis of assumptions about what their hearers already know. These assumptions may be mistaken, of course, but they underlie much of what we say in the everyday use of language. What a speaker assumes is true or is known by the hearer can be described as a presupposition. If someone tells you Your brother is waiting outside for you, there is an obvious presupposition that you have a brother. If you are asked Why did u arrive late?, there is a presupposition that you did arrive late. And if you are asked the following question there are at least two presuppositions involved: When did you stop smoking cigars? In asking this question, the speaker presupposes that you used to smoke cigars, and that you no longer do so. Questions like this, with built-in presuppositions, are very useful devices for interrogators or trail lawyers. If the defendant is asked by the prosecutor Okay, Mr. Smith, where did you buy the cocaine?, there is a presupposition that Mr. Smith sis, in fact, buy the cocaine. If he simply answers the Where part of the question, by giving a location, he is behaving as if the presupposition is correct.

One of the tests used to check for the presuppositions underlying sentences involves negating a sentence with a particular presupposition and considering whether the presupposition remains true. Take the sentence My car is a wreck. Now take the negative version of this sentence: My car is not a wreck. Notice that, although these two sentences have opposite meanings, the underlying presupposition. I have a car, remains true in both.

Speech acts

We have considering some ways in which we interpret the meanings of sentences in terms of what the speaker of those sentences intended to convey. What we have not yet explored is the fact we also usually know how a speaker intends us to 'take' or, interpret the function of what he says. In every general terms, we can usually recognize the type of 'act' performed by a speaker in uttering a sentence. The use of the term speech act covers 'actions' such as 'requesting', 'commanding', 'questioning' and 'informing'. It is typically the case that we use the following linguistic 'forms' with the following 'functions'. (The forms would be described in the syntactic of a language, and the functions as what people use language for).

Forms	Functions
Did you eat the food?	Question
Eat the food (please).	Command (request)
You ate the food.	Statement

When a form such as Did heà?. Are theyà? or Can youà? is used to ask a question, it is described as a direct act. For example, when a speaker doesn't know something and asks the hearer to inform him, he will typically produce a direct speech act of the following type: Can you ride a bicycle?

Now compare this utterance with Can you pass the salt? In this second example, you would not usually understand the utterance as a question about your ability to do something. In fact, you would not treat this as a question at all. You would treat as a request and perform the action requested. Yet, this request has been presented in the syntactic from usually associated with a question. Such an example is described is an indirect speech act. Whenever one of the forms in the set above is used to perform a function other than the one listed beside it, the result is an indirect speech act. The following utterance has the form normally associated with the statement¤ you left door I If you say this sentence to someone who has just come into your roomí and it's pretty cold outsidè, you would probably be understood to have made, not a statement, but a request. You are requesting, indirectly, that the person close the door. Used in this way, it is another example of an indirect speech act.

علم الدلالة والتداولية

يختص علم الدلالة Semantics بدراسة المعنى، وهو الغاية النهائية من التحليل اللغوي، وقد كان علم اللغة ينظر إلى علم الدلالة ـ حتى أواخر الخمسينيات من القرن الماضي ـ على أنه أضعف نقطة في التحليل اللغوي كما يقول بلومفيد وذلك لصعوبة تطبيق إجراءات «العلم» عليه. غير أن هذا المجال أصبح الآن أهم مجالات الدرس اللغوي نتيجة الدراسات الكثيرة عن «المخ» الإنساني، وعن قواعد «الاتصال» وعن «الاكتساب»، وغيرها وغيرها، ونقدم لك هنا الأسس الضرورية لدراستك.

وثمة أساس أولي يجب أن نؤكده، هو أنه لا توجد علاقة **«طبيعية»** بين الكلمة ومعناها، فأصوات أية كلمة لا تحمل معناها، فالجيم والباء واللام من كلمة «جبل» لا تدل بطبيعتها على معنى الجبل. ومن ثم فإن العلاقة بين اللفظ والمعنى علاقة **اعتباطية** أو **تحكمية** arbitrary وهي علاقة **«عرفية»** conventional.

ولكل كلمة في اللغة معنيان، معنى تصوري conceptual أو أساسي، ومعنى ثانوي associative. فكلمة «إبرة» needle التي في النص تعني في معناها التصوري أنها تحتوي على عدة مكونات هي: «أنها أداة، من الصلب، رفيعة، حادة» أما المعنى الثانوي التي يتبادر إليك عند سماعك هذه الكلمة أنها «مؤلمة»؛ فعنصر الإيلام هنا ليس من المكونات التصورية لكنه معنى تابع لهذه المكونات. وهنا يبرز مصطلحان:

المعنى التصوري denotation

المعنى الثانوي connotation

ثم هناك وسائل كثيرة لدراسة المعنى دراسة علمية نظامية، منها ما يعرف بالملامح الدلالية، وهي أن ندرج الكلمة تحت عدد من الملامح مثل: هل هذه الكلمة تدل على شيء حي؟ أهو مذكر؟ أم.. أم. ولسهولة الإجراءات نضع الألفاظ في

جدول ثم نجعل رمز (+) أمام الملمح الذي تنتمي إليه، ورمز (ـ) إذا كانت لا تنتمي إليه، على النحو التالي:

	منصدة	بقرة	بنت	امرأة	رجل
حي	-	+	+	+	+
بشري	-	-	+	+	+
مذكر	-	-	-	-	+
راشد	-	-	-	+	+

وبعد ذلك نلجأ إلى وسيلة مهمة جداً تعرف بالعلاقات المعجمية lexical relations؛ ذلك أن كل لفظة تقع في شبكة معقدة جداً من العلاقات، ولا يمكن معرفة معناها إلا بمعرفة هذه العلاقات. ونقتصر هنا على العلاقات المعجمية الشائعة في لغات العالم.

علاقة الترادف Synonymy

وهي معروفة جداً في العربية، وقد تناولها علماؤنا القدماء تناولاً واسعاً وعميقاً، ومنهم من أنكر وجود الترادف أصلاً، ومنهم من اعترف بوجوده، ومنهم من قال بوجود فروق دقيقة بين المترادفات، يمكنك أن ترجع إلى مصادرها المعروفة في العربية حيث توجد معاجم للمترادف، وكتب للفروق اللغوية. والمناقشات التي دارت في علم اللغة الحديث عن الترادف تكاد تكون مطابقة لمناقشات قدمائنا، وقد ظهرت مصطلحات من مثل: الترادف التام والترادف الناقص.

علاقة التضاد:

وهي علاقة شائعة معروفة من مثل: سريع - بطيء، كبير - صغير، طويل - قصير. ويقسم اللغويون الآن التضاد نوعين:

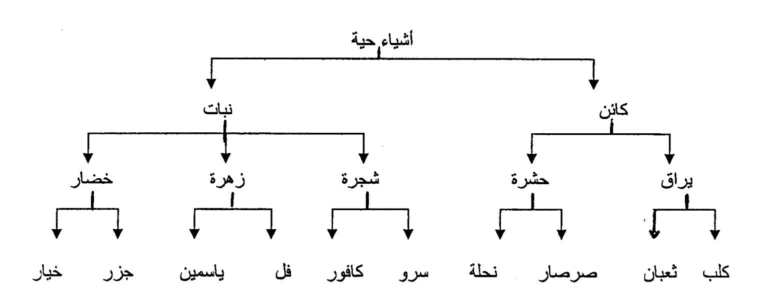
أ ـ تضاد متدرج: gardable وهو الأكثر شيوعاً في اللغات، واستخدام واحد منها لا يعني نفي الآخر أو العكس؛ فإذا قلت مثلاً إن هذه المرأة ليست عجوزاً، فإن ذلك لا يعني - حتماً - أنها صغيرة السن، لأن بين الاثنين درجات، وهكذا في علاقات الطول والقصر، والبعد والقرب والجمال والقبح... إلخ. ويمكن صياغة أفعل

التفضيل من هذا النوع، فنقول: أجمل وأقبح، وأطول وأقصر. . . إلخ.

ب ـ تضاد غير متدرج: non - gradable، وهنا يؤدي وجود أحدها إلى عدم الآخر، مثل: حي ـ ميت، أعمى ـ بصير، فإذا قلت إن فلاناً حيّ فإن ذلك يعني فوراً أنه ليس ميتاً، وهذا النوع لا يجوز صياغة التفضيل منه، فلا نقول: فلان أَمْوَت أو أشدُّ عمىً من فلان.

علاقة الانضواء Hyponymy

تتفرع الألفاظ عن أصول أو أجناس أو أنواع، فكلمة برتقال مثلاً تنضوي تحت كلمة «فاكهة»، وكلمة فاكهة مُتَضَمَّنة في كلمة برتقال. وهذه العلاقات علاقة هرمية يمكن أن توضح العلاقة بين مجموعة من الكلمات على النحو التالي:



علاقة الاشتراك اللفظي: polysemy

وهي علاقة شائعة جداً أيضاً، وهي دلالة لفظة واحدة على عدة معانٍ، غير أن هذه المعاني المتنوعة ترجع إلى أصل الكلمة الأولى، ومن أشهر ألفاظ المشترك اللفظي في العربية كلمة «عين» التي تدل على الباصرة، وعلى الجاسوس، وعلى عين

الماء، وعلى الوجيه في قومه.

وعلم الدلالة لا يتوقف عند معاني الكلمات وعلاقاتها بل هناك آفاق أوسع لا بد من معرفتها للدخول إلى عالم الدلالة، من ذلك موضوع «السياق» context، فأنت لا تستطيع أن تعرف معنى كلام ما إلاّ إذا عرفت السياق الذي ورد فيه سواء كان ذلك سياقاً لغوياً linguistic أي معرفة الألفاظ السابقة واللاحقة، أم كان سياق الحال context of situation وهو الذي يتضمن عناصر كلامية وعناصر غير كلامية كالمتكلم وحالته والمخاطب أو المخاطبين ومكان الكلام وزمانه والظروف التي قيل فيها... إلخ، وكانوا يسمون هذا السياق بدلالة «الحال» أو «بالمقام». ثم هناك بعد ذلك الاستدلال على «قصد» المتكلم intention والأعراف الاتصالية داخل كل مجتمع كلامي... إلخ.

المصطلحات

conceptual

associative

denotation

connotation

semantic features

lexical relations

synonymy

antonymy

hyponymy

polysemy

Context

context of situation

-6-
Discourse analysis

In the study of language, some of the most interesting questions arise in connection with the way language is 'used', rather than what its components are. We have already introduced on of those questions when we discussed pragmatics in the preceding chapter. We were, in effect, asking how it is that language-users interpret what other language-users intend to convey. When carry this investigation further and ask how it is that we, as language-users, make sense of what we read in texts, understand what speakers mean despite what they say, recognize connected as opposed to jumbled or incoherent discourse, and successfully take part in that complex activity called conversation, we are undertaking what is know as discourse analysis.

Interpreting discourse

When we concentrate on the description of a particular language, we are normally concerned with the accurate representation of the forms and structures used in that language. However, as language-users, we are capable of more than simply recognizing correct versus incorrect form and structure. We can cope with fragments such as Trains collide, two die, a newspaper headline, and know, for example, that a casual relation exists between the two phrases; and we can make sense of notices like No shoes, no service, on shop windows in summer, understanding that a conditional relation exists between the two phrases 'if you are wearing no shoes, you will receive no service'. Morecover, we can encounter examples of texts written in English, which appear to break a lot of the 'rules' of the English language. The following example, from an essay by a Saudi Arabian student learning English, contains all kinds of 'errors', yet it can be understood.

My town

My natal was in a small town, very close to Riyadh capital of Saudi Arabia. The distant between my town and Riyadh ñ miles exactly. The name of this Almasani that means in English Factories. It takes this name from the

people's carrer. In my childhood I remember the people live. It was very simple, most the people was farmer.

This example may serve to illustrate an interesting point the way we react to language which contains ungrammatical forms. Rather than simply rejecting the text as ungrammatical, we try to make sense of it. That is, we attempt to arrive at a reasonable interpretation of what the writer intended to convey. most people say they understand the 'My Town' text quite easily.(it is this effort to interpret)and to be gated in the study of discourse. To arrive at an interpretation, and to make our messages interpretable, we certainly rely on what we know about linguistic from and structure. But, as language-users, we have more knowledge than that.

Cohesion

We know, for example, that texts must have a certain structure which depends on factors quite different from those required in the structure of a single sentence. Some of those factors are described in terms of cohesion, or the ties and connections which exist within texts. A number of those types of cohesive ties can be identified in the following text:

My father once bought a Lincoln convertible. He did it by saving every penny he could. That car would be wroth a fortune nowadays. However, he sold it to help pay for my college education. Sometimes I think I'd rather have the convertible.

There are connections created here by the uses of pronouns, which we assume are used to maintain reference to the same people and things throughout¤ father- he- he- he; my- my- I; Lincoln- it. There are lexical connections such as a Lincoln convertible- that car- the convertible, and the more general connections created by a number of terms which share a common element of meaning′e.g. 'money' bought- saving- penny- wroth a fortune- sold- pay; ′e.g. 'time' once- nowadays- sometimes. There is also a connector, However, which marks the relationship of what follows to what went before. The verb tenses in the first four sentences are all in the past, creating a connection between those events, and a different time is indicated by the present tense of the final sentence.

Analysis of these cohesive links within a text gives us some insight into how writers structure what they want to say and may be crucial factors in our

judgments on whether something is well- written or not. It has also been noted that the conversations of cohesive structure differ from one language to the next and may be one of the sources of difficulty encountered in translating texts.

However, by itself, cohesion would not be sufficient to enable us to make sense of what we read. It is quite easy to create a highly cohesive text which has a lot of connections between the sentences, but which remains difficult to interpret. Note that the following text has connections such as Lincoln- the car; red- that color; her- she; letters- a letter; and so on.

My father bought a Lincoln convertible. The car driven by the police was red. That color doesn't suit her. She consists of three letters. However, a letter isn't as fast as a telephone call.

It becomes clear from an example like this that the 'connectedness' which we experience in our interpretation of normal texts is not simply based on connections between the words. There must be some other factor which leads us to distinguish connected texts which make sense from those which do not. This factor is usually described as coherence.

Coherence

The key to the concept of coherence is not something which exists in the language, but something which exists in people. It is people who 'make sense' of what they read and hear. They try to arrive at an interpretation which is in line with their experience of the way the world is. Indeed, our ability to make sense of what we read is probably only a small part of that general ability we have to make sense of what we perceive or experience in the world. You may have found, when reading the last example text, that you kept trying to make the text 'fit' some situation or experience which would accommodate all the details. If you work at it long enough, you may indeed find a way to incorporate all those disparate elements into a single coherent interpretation. In doing so, you would necessarily be involved in a process of filling in a lot of 'gaps' which exist in the text. You would have to create meaningful connections which are not actually expressed by the words and sentences. This process is not restricted to trying to understand 'odd' texts. In one way or another, it seems to be involved in our interpretation of all discourse.

It is certainly present in the interpretation of casual conversation. We are

continually taking part in conversational interactions where a great deal of what is meant is not actually present in what is said. Perhaps it is the ease with which we ordinarily anticipate each other's intention that makes this whole complex process seem so unremarkable. Here is a good example, adapted from Widdowson (1978):

Nancy: That's the telephone

Ron: I'm in the bath

Nancy: O.k.

There are certainly no cohesive ties within this fragment of discourse. How do these people manage to make sense of what the other says? They do use the information contained in the sentences expressed, but there must be something else involved in the interpretation. It has been suggested that exchanges of this type are best understood in terms of the conventional actions performed by the speakers in such interactions. Drawing on concepts derived from the study of speech acts introduced in chapter, we can characterize the brief conversation in the following way:

> Nancy requests Ron to perform action
>
> Ron states reason why he cannot comply with request
>
> Nancy undertakes to perform action

If this is a reasonable analysis of what took place in the conversation, then it is clear that language-users must have a lot of knowledge of how conversational interaction works which is not simply 'linguistic' knowledge. Trying to describe aspects of that knowledge has been the focus of research by an increasing number of discourse analysts.

Speech events

In exploring what it is that we know about talking part in conversation, or any other speech event e.g. debate, interview, various types of discussion, we quickly realize that there is enormous variation in what people say and do in different circumstances. In order to begin to describe the sources of that variation, we would have to take account of a number of criteria. For example, we would have to specify the roles of speaker and hearer, or hearers, and their relationships, whether they were friends, strangers, young, old, of equal or unequal status, and so on. All of these factors will have an influence on what is

said and how it is said. We would have to describe what was the topic of the conversation and in what setting or context it took place. Some of the effects of these factors on the way language is used will be explored in greater detail in chapter . yet, even when we have described all these factors, we will still not have analyzed the actual structure of the conversation itself. As language-users, in a particular culture, we clearly have quite sophisticated knowledge of how conversation works.

Conversational interaction

In simple terms, English conversation can be described as an activity where, for the most part, two or more people take turns at speaking. Typically, only one person speaks at a time and there tends to be an avoidance of silence between speaking turns. ·This is not true in other cultures: if more than one participant tries to talk at the same time, one of them usually stops, as in this example, where A stops until B has finished:

A: Didn't you know [wh-

B: [But he must've been there by two

A: Yes but you knew where he was going

(The symbol [is conversationally used to indicate where simultaneous talk occurred)

for the most part, participation wait until one speaker indicates that he or she has finished, usually by signaling a completion point. Speakers can mark their turns as 'complete' in a number of ways- by asking a question, for example, or by pausing at the end of a completed syntactic structure like a phrase or a sentence. Other participants can indicate that they want to take the speaking turn, also in a number of ways. They can start to make short sounds usually repeated, while the speaker is talking, and often use body shifts or facial expressions to signal that they have something to say.

Some of the most interesting research in this area of discourse has revealed different expectations of conversational style and different strategies of participation in conversational interaction. Some of these strategies seem to be the source of what is sometime described by participant as 'rudeness' (if one speaker keeps waiting for an opportunity to take a turn and none seems to occur). The participants characterized as 'rude' or 'shy' in this way may simply

be adhering to slightly different conversations of turn- talking. One strategy which may be overused by 'long- winded' speakers, or those used to 'holding the floor' like lecturers, politicians, is designed to avoid having normal completion points occur. We all use this strategy to some extent, usually in situations where we have to work out what we are trying to say while actually saying it. If the normal expectation is that completion points are marked by the end of a sentence and a pause, then one way to 'keep the turn' is to avoid having those two indicators occur together. That is, don't pause at the end of sentences, make your sentences run on by using connectors like and, and then, so, but, place your pauses at points where the message is clearly incomplete, and preferable 'fill' the pause with hesitation markers such as er, em, uh, ah. Note the position of the pauses in this example, placed before and after verbs rather than at the end of sentences:

A: that's their favorite restaurant because they" enjoy French food and when they wereà in France they couldn't believe it thatà you know that they hadà that they had had better meals back home

And in this next example, Speaker A produces filled pauses after having almost the turn at his first brief hesitation:

A: well that film really was... [wasn't what he was good at

B: [when di-

A: I mean his other" em his later film were much more" er really more in the romantic style and that was more what what he was... you know ... em best at doing

B: so when did he make that one

These types of strategies, by themselves, should not be considered undesirable or 'domineering'. They are present in the conversational speech of most people and they are, in a sense, part of what makes conversation work. We recognize these subtle indicators as ways of organizing our turns and negotiating the intricate business of social interaction via language. In fact, one of the most noticeable features of conversation al discourse is that it is generally very co-operative. This observation has in fact, been formulated as a principle of conversation.

تحليل الخطاب

يختص تحليل الخطاب بدراسة «الكلام» في حالة **الاتصال التفاعلي** interactive بين الناس. لا يركز هذا التحليل على «صواب» التراكيب اللغوية أو «قبولها» النحوي، بل على الوسائل التي يجري بها «الفهم المتبادل»، والكلام الذي يدور في «الخطاب» يسمى «نصاً text»، والنص «كتلة» كلامية يمكن أن تكون جملة واحدة، أو عدة جمل، أو فقرة أو أكثر، أي أن الحجم ليس هو المهم، ولكن المهم أن تتوافر فيه خصائص النص، من حيث الاستقلال، والهدف والتماسك... إلخ. والنص يكون مكتوباً أو منطوقاً، وكلاهما موضوع لتحليل الخطاب، غير أن كثيرين يركزون على تحليل «الحوارات» المنطوقة.

يهتم تحليل الخطاب بمبدأين مهمين، الأول ما يعرف **بالسبك**، والثاني الحبك.

أما الأول cohesion فقد تُرجم عدة ترجمات، وهو يعني أن أي خطاب في أي نص لا بد أن تتوافر فيه عناصر «للسبك»، وهي عناصر «لفظية» فائدتها ربط أجزاء الخطاب، وأشهرها ما يعرف الآن «بالإحالة» أي «المرجعية» في مصطلح القدماء، وهي استخدام الضمائر، وكذلك ضمائر الإشارة، والموصول، والمكان، والزمان، وصيغ الأفعال... إلخ ولعلك تذكر تقسيم النحاة لأداة التعريف «ال» بأن أهمها ما يعرف بـ «الـ العهدية» أي التي تعني أن ثمة «عهداً بين المتكلم والمخاطب على الاسم الذي لحقته، وحين يطلب مدرس الجغرافيا مثلاً من تلاميذه أن يفتحوا الكتاب فإنهم سيفتحون جميعاً كتاباً واحداً معلوماً لديهم هو كتاب الجغرافيا وليس كتاب الكيمياء أو اللغة الفرنسية... إلخ.

وأما الثاني فهو **الحبك** cohrence وهو يعني «الروابط المنطقية» التي تربط أجزاء النص، تستند إلى معرفة المخاطبين بأعراف الخطاب في مجتمعهم الكلامي، وإلى

المقدمات التي تؤدي إلى نتائج معينة، وحيث إن الحبك لا يحتوي على وسائل لفظية فإن معظم محللي الخطاب يهتمون به اهتماماً أكبر لما يشتمل عليه من عناصر تتصل بالمجتمع وباستراتيجيات الكلام والاستماع وغيرها. . .

الأحداث الكلامية Speech events

من المعلوم أن الإنسان لا يتكلم بطريقة واحدة دائماً، بل إنه «يُنوع» في كلامه، وفي طريقة استقباله واستجابته، وفقاً للظروف المختلفة التي يقع فيها الحدث الكلامي (سواء كان مناظرة، أو ندوة، أو مقابلة، أو مناقشة ما). ونوع العلاقة يفهم من حيث الصداقة أو القرب أو الوضع الرسمي، ومن حيث السن والجنس. . . إلخ. وعلى محلل الخطاب أن تكون لديه معايير علمية لتتناول هذه العناصر.

التفاعل الحواري conversational interaction

وهو موضوع مهم يجذب كثيراً من الباحثين لمعرفة ما يسود مجتمعا ما من أعراف التفاعل الحواري، مثلاً كيف يُشعر المتكلم مخاطبيه أنه قد أنهى كلامه انتظاراً لدورهم؟ وكيف يحاول المخاطب أن يقطع كلام المتكلم؛ بهمهمة صوتية؟ بكلمة؟ أم بإشارة باليد أو العين. . .؟ . . . . هناك مجتمعات يظل المستمع فيها صامتاً حتى ينتهي المتكلم من كلامه انتهاءً تاماً، وآخر لا يصبر فيه المخاطب على الانتظار، وثالثة يتعدد فيها المتكلمون في وقت واحد، وهناك أشخاص يسيطر عليهم «الخجل» مثلاً يقطعون حديث أحد. . . إلخ.

لقد أصبحت هذا المسائل مهمة جداً عند دارسي تحليل الخطاب لما يترتب عليها من نتائج عملية قد يكون بعضها خطيراً وبخاصة في الحوارات السياسية. ولعلك تلاحظ الآن ما يجري من «حوارات» في القنوات الفضائية العربية وما يتكرر فيها من مقاطعات وصياح وقارن ذلك مثلاً بما يجري في قناة BBC فيما يعرف بـ Hard Talk. إن تحليل الخطاب أصبح عنصراً مهماً جداً عند مخططي السياسة، ورجال الاقتصاد، وعلماء النفس والاجتماع.

وهناك عناصر أخرى كثيرة في تحليل الخطاب يمكنك الرجوع إليها في المراجع المتخصصة.

المصطلحات

discourse

cohesion

coherence

interaction

speech event

-7-
First language acquisition

Child: Want other one spoon, Daddy.

Father: You mean, you want the other spoon.

Child: Yes, I want other one spoon, please Daddy.

Father: Can you say "the other spoon"?

Child: Other" one"... spoon.

Father: Say "other".

Child: Other.

Father: ôspoon".

Child: Spoon.

Father: "Other spoon".

Child: Other" spoon. Now give me other spoon?

Martin Braine (1971)

First language acquisition is remarkable for the speed with which it takes place. By the time a child enters elementary school, he or she is an extremely sophisticated language- user, operating a communicative system which no other creature, or computer, comes close to matching. The speed of acquisition and the fact that it generally occurs, without overt instruction, for all children, regardless of great difference in a range of social and cultural factors, have led to the belief that there is some 'innate' predisposition in the human infant to acquire language. We can think of this as the 'language- faculty of the human which each newborn child's is endowed. By itself, however, this faculty is not enough.

Basic requirements

A child growing up in the first two or three years requires interaction with other language- users in order to bring the 'language- faculty' into operation with a particular language, such as English. We have already noted, in the case ofGenie (chapter14) , that a child who does not hear, or is not allowed to use, language will learn no language. We have also stressed the importance of 'cultural transmission'´chapter° whereby the language a child learns is not genetically inherited, but is acquired in a particular language-using environment. The child must also be physically capable of sending and receiving sound signals in a language. All infants make 'cooing' and 'babbling' noises during the first few months, but congenitally deaf infants stop after six months. So, in order to speak a language, a child must be able to hear that language being used. By itself, however, hearing language sounds is not enough. One reported case has demonstrated that, with deaf parents who gave their normal- hearing son ample exposure to T.V. and radio programs, the child did not acquire an ability to speak or understand English. What he did learn very effectively, by the age of three, was the use of American Sign Language - the language he used to interact with his parents. The crucial requirement appears to be the opportunity to interact with others via language.

The acquisition schedule

All normal children, regardless of culture, develop language at roughly the same time, along much the same schedule. Since we could say the same thing for sitting up, standing, walking, using the hands and many other physical activities, it has been suggested that the language acquisition schedule has the same basis as the biologically determined development of motor skills. This biological schedule, it is claimed, is tied very much to the maturation of the infant's brain and the lateralization process. If there is some general biological program underlying language acquisition, it is certainly dependant on an interplay with many social factors in the child's environment. We could think of the child as having the biological capacity to cope with distinguishing certain aspects of linguistic input at different stages during the early years of life. What this acquisition 'capacity' then requires is a sufficiently constant input from which the regulations of the particular language can be worked out. In this

view, the child is seen as actively acquiring the language by working out the regularities in what is heard and then applying those regularities in what he or she says.

Some controversies

In our consideration of the basic requirements and the schedule involved in first language acquisition, we have already touched on a number of issues which are the subject of debate among those who study child language. For example, there are studies which show that the early environment of a child differs considerably from one culture to the next. Consequently, the findings of research into the process of acquisition in the middle class English-speaking cultures may not be replicated in studies of other cultures. There is also substantial controversy over the issue of 'innateness'. Noam Chomsky (1983) has proposed that language development should be described as "language growth", because the "language organ" simply grows like any other body organ. This view seems to underestimate what others consider the importance of environment and experience in the child's development of language. At issue is the extent to which the process of language acquisition is genetically predetermined in the human species.

Another matter of some debate has arisen over how we should view the linguistic production of young children. The linguist's view tends to concentrate on describing the child's speech in terms of the known units of phonology and syntax, for example. However, the child's view of what is being heard and uttered at different stages may be based on quite different units. For example, a child's utterance of [dik?d?t] may be a single unit for the child, yet may be treated as having three units, look at that, by an investigator interested in the child's acquisition of different types of verbs.

It is worth keeping these issues in mind throughout this chapter because some of the standard concepts and analyses which are presented here as basic aspects of child language are likely to be challenged, and possibly amended, as continuing research reveals more about this complex subject.

Caretaker speech

Under normal circumstances, in Western cultures, the human infant is certainly helped in his or her language acquisition by the typical behavior of the adults in the home environment. Adults such as mom, dad, granny and

grandpa tend to address the little gurgler before them as if they are involved in normal adult-to-adult conversation. There is not much of this: Well, John Junior, shall we invest in blue chip industrials, or would grain futures offer better short term prospects? However, there does seem to be a lot of this: Oh, goody, now Daddy push choo-choo? The characteristically simplified speech style adopted by someone who spends a lot of time interacting with a young child is called caretaker speech. Some of the features of this type of speech are frequent questions, often using exaggerated intonation. In the early stages, this type of speech also incorporates a lot of forms associated with 'baby-talk'. These are either simplified words´e.g. tummy, nanà or alternative forms, with repeated simple sounds, for objects in the child's environment´e.g. choo-choo, poo-poo, wawà.

Built into a lot of caretaker speech is a type of conversational structure which seems to assign an interactive role to the young child even before he or she becomes a speaking participant. If we look at an extract from the speech of one mother to her -year-old child as if it were a two-party conversation, then this type of structuring becomes apparent. (This example is from Anderson et al., 1984).

Mother: there's your cup of tea

Child: (takes cup)

Mother: you drink it nicely

Child: (pretends to drink)

Mother: oh - is that nice?

Child: (assents)

Mother: will Mummy drink her tea?

Child: (assents)

Mother: I'll drink my tea

Caretaker speech is also characterized by simple sentence structures and a lot of repetition. If the child is indeed in the process of working out a system of putting sounds and words together, then these simplified models produced by the interacting adult may serve as good clues to the basic structural organization involved. Moreover, it has generally been observed that the

speech of those regularly interacting with children changes and becomes more elaborate as the child begins using more and more language. Several stages in the acquisition process have been identified.

Pre-language stages

The pre-linguistics sounds of the very early stages of child language acquisition are simply called 'cooing' and 'babbling'. The period from about 3 months to 10 months is usually characterized by three stages of sound production in the infant's developing repertoire. The first recognizable sounds are described as cooing, with velar constants such as [k] and [g] usually present, as well as high vowels such as [i] and [u]. These can normally be heard by the time the child is 3 months old, although many of the child's vocal sounds are very different from those which occur in the speech of mom and dad.

By 6 months, the child is usually able to sit up and can produce a number of different vowels and consonants such as fricatives and nasals. The sound production at this stage is described as babbling and may contain syllable-type sounds such as mu and da. In the later babbling stage, around ¿ months, there are recognizable intonation patterns to the consonant and vowel combination being produced. As children begin to pull themselves into a standing position through the tenth and eleventh months, they are capable of using their vocalizations to express emotions and emphasis. This late babbling stage is characterized by a lot of 'sound-play' and attempted imitations. Some psychologists have suggested that this 'pre-language' vocalization gives children some experience of the social role of speech because parents tend to react to the babbling, however incoherent, as if it is, in fact, their child's contribution to social interaction.

One note of caution should be sounded at this point. Child language researchers certainly report very carefully on the age of any child whose language they study. However, they are also very careful to point out that there is substantial variation among children in terms of the age at which particular features of linguistic development occur. So, we should always treat statements concerning development stages such as "by six months" or "by the age of two" as approximate and subject to variation in individual children. We are, after all, investigating a highly individualized experience while attempting to come up with some general statements about approximate stages of development.

The one-word or holophrastic stage

Between 12 and 18 months, children begin to produce a variety of recognizable single unit utterances. This period, traditionally called the 'one-word stage', is characterized by speech in which single terms are uttered for everyday objects such as 'milk', 'chocolate', 'cat' and 'cup'. Other forms such as [asae:] may occur in circumstances which suggest that the child is producing a version of what's that, so the label 'on-word' for this stage may be misleading. Terms such as 'single-unit' or 'single-form' may be more accurate, or we could use the term holophrastic'a single form functioning as a phrase or sentencè, if we believe that the child is actually using these forms as phrases or sentences.

While many of these single forms are used for naming objects, they may also be produced in circumstances that suggest the child is already extending their use. An empty bed may elicit the name of a sister who normally sleeps in the bed, even in the absence of the person named. During this stage, then, the child may be capable of referring to Karen and bed, but is not yet ready to put the forms together to produce a more complex phrase. Well, it is a lot to expect from someone who can only walk with a stagger and has to come down stairs backwards.

The two-word stage

Depending on what one counts as an occurrence of two separate words, this stage can begin around 18-20 months. By the time the child is 2 years old, a variety of combinations, baby chair, mommy eat, cat bad, will be appearing. The adult interpretation of such combination is, of course, very much tied to the context of their utterance. The phrase baby chair may be taken as an expression of possession' = this is baby's chair, or as a request (= put baby in chair), or as a statement (= baby is in chair), depending on different contexts. Whatever it is that the child actually intends to communicate via such expressions, the significant functional consequences are that the adult behaves as if communication is taking place. That is, the child not only produces speech, but receives feedback which usually confirms that the utterance 'worked'. By the age of 2, the child will have a vocabulary of more than 50 words and will typically be treated as an entertaining conversational partner by the principal caretaker.

Telegraphic speech

Between 2 and 3 years old, the child will begin producing a large number of utterances which could be classified as multiple-word utterances. The salient feature of these utterances ceases to be the number of words, but the variation in word-forms which begins to appear. Of particular interest is the sequence of inflectional morphemes which occurs. Before we consider this development, however, we should note that there is a stage which is described as telegraphic speech. This is characterized by strings of lexical morphemes in phrases such as Andrew want ball, cat drink milk, and this shoe all wet. The child has clearly developed some sentence-building capacity by this stage and can order the forms correctly. While this type of telegram-format speech is being produced, a number of grammatical inflections begin to appear in some of the words, and the simple prepositions'in, on' also turn up.

By the age of two and a half, the child's vocabulary is expanding rapidly and the child is actually initiating more talk. Of course, increased physical activity such as running and jumping is taking place during this period too. By three, the vocabulary has grown to hundreds of words and pronunciation has become closer to the form of the adult language, so that even visitors have to admit that the little creature really can talk.

The acquisition process

As the linguistic repertoire of the child increases, it is often assumed that the child is, in some sense, being 'taught' the language. This view seems to underestimate what the child actually does. For the vast majority of children, no one provides any instruction on how to speak the language. Nor should we picture a little empty head gradually being filled with words and phrases. A much more realistic view would have children actively constructing, from what is said to them, possible ways of using the language. The child's linguistic production, then, is mostly a matter of trying out constructions and testing whether they work or not. It is extremely unlikely that the child is acquiring the language simply through a process of consistently imitating'parrot-fashion' adult speech. Of course, the child can be heard to repeat versions of what adults say and is in the process of adopting a lot of vocabulary from their speech. However, adults simply do not produce many of the types of expressions which turn up in children's speech.

Nor does adult 'correction' seem to be a very effective determiner of how the child speaks. A lot of very amusing conventional snippets, involving an adult's attempt to correct a child's speech, seem to demonstrate the hopelessness of the task. One typical example was quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Even when the correction is attempted in a more subtle manner, the child will continue to use a personally constructed form, despite the adult's repetition of what the correct form should be. Note that in the following dialog (quoted in Cazden, 1972) the child, a 4-year-old, is neither imitating the adult's speech nor accepting the adult's correction:

Child: My teacher holded the baby rabbits and we patted them

Mother: Did you say your teacher held the baby rabbits?

Child: Yes

Mother: What did you say she did?

Child: She holded the baby rabbits and we patted them

Mother: Did you say she held them tightly?

Child: No, she holded them loosely

One factor which seems to be crucial in the child's acquisition process is the actual use of sound and word combinations, whether in interaction with others or in a word-play, alone. One -year-old, tape-recorded as he lay in bed alone, could be heard playing with words and phrases, I go dis way... way bay... baby do dis bib... bib... dere (from Weir, 1966). It is practice of this type which seems to be an important factor in the development of the child's linguistic repertoire. The details of this development beyond the telegraphic stage have been traced, in a number of studies, via the linguistic elements which begin to turn up, on a regular basis, in the steady stream of speech emerging from the little characters.

Morphology

By the time the child is 3 years old, he or she is going beyond telegraphic speech forms and incorporating some of the inflectional morphemes which indicate the grammatical function of the nouns and verbs used. The first to appear is usually the ûing form in expressions such as cat sitting and mommy reading book. Then comes the marking of regular plurals with the ûs form, as in boys and cats. The acquisition of this form is often accompanied by a process

of overgeneralization. The child overgeneralizes the apparent rule of adding ûs to form plurals and will talk about foots and mans. When the alternative pronunciation of the plural morpheme used in houses (i.e., ending in [-2zï) comes into use, it too is given an overgeneralized application and forms such as boyses or footses can appear. At the same time as this overgeneralization is taking place, some children also begin using irregular plurals such as men quite appropriately for a while, but then try out the general rule on the forms, producing expressions like some mens and two feets, or even two feetses.

The use of the possessive inflection û's occurs in expressions such as girl's dog and Mummy's book and the different forms of the verb 'to be', such as are and was, turn up. The appearance of forms such as was and, at about the same time, went and came should be noted. These are irregular past tense forms which one would not expect to appear before the more regular forms. However, they do typically precede the appearance of the ûed inflection. Once the regular past tense forms begin appearing in the child's speech e.g. walked, played, then, interestingly, the irregular forms disappear for a while and are replaced by overgeneralized versions such as goed and comed. For a period, there is often minor chaos as the - ed inflection is added to everything, producing such oddities as walkeded and wented. As with the plural forms, however, the child works out, usually after the age of 4, which forms are regular and which are not. Finally, the regular -s marker on third person singular present tense verbs appears. It occurs initially with full verbs (comes, looks) and then with auxiliaries (does, has).

Throughout this sequence there is, of course, a great deal of variability. Individual children may produce 'good' forms one day and 'odd' forms the next. It is important to remember that the child is working out how to use the linguistic system while actually using it as a means of communication. For the child, the use of forms such as goed and foots is simply a means of trying to say what he or she means during a particular stage of development. The embarrassed parents who insist that the child didn't hear such things at home are implicitly recognizing that 'imitation' is not the primary force in child language acquisition.

Syntax

Similar evidence against 'imitation' as the basis of a child's speech production has been found in studies of the syntactic structures used by

children. One -year-old child, specifically asked to repeat what she heard, would listen to an adult say forms such as the owl who eats candy runs fast, and then repeat them in the form owl eat candy and he run fast. It is clear that the child understands what the adult is saying. She just has her own way of expressing it.

There have been numerous studies of the development of syntax in children's speech. We shall restrict our consideration to two features which have been well-documented and which seem to be acquired in a regular way. In the formation of questions and the use of negatives, there appear to be three identifiable stages. The ages of children going through these stages can vary quite a lot, but the general pattern seems to be that Stage 1 occurs between 18 and 26 months, Stage 2 between 22 and 30 months, and Stage 3 between 24 and 40 months. (It must be emphasized that no precise ages can ever really be assigned to these developmental stages. Different children proceed at different paces).

Questions

In forming questions, the first stage has two procedures. Simply add a wh-form (where, who) to the beginning of the expression or utter the expression with a rise in intonation towards the end. Here are some examples¤

Where kitty? Where horse go? Sit chair? See hole?

In the second stage, more complex expressions can be formed, but the rising intonation strategy continues to be used. It is noticeable that more wh-forms come int use, as in these examples:

What book name? Why you smiling?

You want eat? See my doggie?

In the third stage, the required inversion of subject and verb in English questions has appeared, but the wh- forms do not always undergo the required inversion. In fact, children entering school may still prefer to form wh-questions (especially in negatives) without the type of inversion found in adult speech. Examples are:

Can I have a piece? Did I caught it? Will you help me?

How that opened? What did you do? Why kitty can't stand up?

Negatives

In the case of negatives. Stage 1 seems to have a simple strategy which says that no or not should be stuck on the beginning of any expression.

Examples are:

No mitten   not a teddy bear   no fall   no sit there

In the second stage, the additional negative forms don't and can't are used, and with no and not, begin to be placed in front of the verb rather than at the beginning of the sentence. Some examples are:

He no bite you   There no squirrels   You can't dance   I don't know

The third stage sees the incorporation of other auxiliary forms such as didn't and won't, and the disappearance of the stage 1 forms. A very late acquisition is the form isn't, so that some Stage 2 forms continue to be used for quite a long time. Examples are:

I didn't caught it   She won't let go

He not taking it   This not ice cream

The study of the use of negative forms by children has given rise to some delightful examples of children operating their own rules for negative sentences. One famous example from McNeil, (1966) also shows the futility adult 'correction':

Child: Nobody don't like me

Mother: No, say "nobody likes me"

Child: Nobody don't like me

(Eight repetitions of this dialog)

Mother: No, now listen carefully; say "nobody likes me"

Child: Oh! Nobody don't like me

Semantics

Most of those anecdotes which parents retell´ to the intense embarrassment of the grown-up child̀ about their child's early speech center on examples of the strange use of words. Having been warned that flies bring germs into the house, one child was asked what "germs" were and the answer was, "something the flies play with". It is not always possible to determine so precisely the meaning which children attach to the words they use.

It seems that during the ȟolophrastic stage many children use their limited vocabulary to refer to a large number of unrelated objects. One child first used bow- wow to refer to a dog and then to a fur piece with glass eyes, a set of cufflinks and even a bath thermometer. The word bow- wow seemed to have a meaning like 'object with shiny bits'. Other children often extend bow- wow to refer to cats, horses and cows. This process is called overextension and the most common pattern is for the child to overextend the meaning of a word on the basis of similarities of shape, sound and size, and, to a lesser extent, of movement and texture. Thus, a tick-tock is initially a watch, but can also be used for a bathroom scale with a round dial. On the basis of size, presumably, the word fly was first used for the insect, and then came to be used for specks of dirt and even crumbs of bread. Apparently due to similarities of texture, the expression sizo was first used by one child for scissors, and then came to be used for all metal objects. The semantic development in a child's use of words is usually a process of overextension of each term as words are learned.

Although overextension has been well-documented in children's speech production, it isn't necessarily used in speech comprehension. One -year-old child, in speaking, used apple to refer to a number of other round objects like tomatoes and balls, but had no difficulty picking out the apple, when asked, from a set of such round objects.

One interesting feature of the young child's semantics is the way certain lexical relations are treated. In terms of hyponymy, the child will almost always use the 'middle' level term in a hyponymous set such as animal¤ dog¤ poodle. It would seem more logical to learn the most general term´ animal̀, but all evidence suggests that children first use dog with an overextended meaning close to the meaning of animal. This may be connected with a similar tendency

in adults, when talking to young children, to refer to flowers (not the general plants or the specific tulips). It also seems that antonymous relations are acquired fairly late (after the age of 50) A large number of kindergarten children in one study pointed to the same heavily laden apple tree when asked Which tree has more apples?, and also when asked Which tree has less? The conclusion seems to be that more and less were not treated as antonyms, but as synonyms. The distinctions between a number of other pairs such as before and after, buy and sell, also seem to be later acquisitions.

Despite the fact that the child is still acquiring aspects of his or her native language through the later years of childhood, it is normally assumed that, by the age of 5, with an operating vocabulary of more than 2,000 words, the child has completed the greater part of the basic language acquisition process. According to some, the child is then in a good position to start learning a second or foreign language. However, most educational systems do not introduce foreign language instruction until much later. The question which always arises is: if first language acquisition was so straightforward, why is learning a second language so difficult? We shall consider this question in the next chapter.

اكتساب اللغة الأولى

- يجب أولاً أن نفرق بين مصطلحي «الاكتساب» acquisition و «التعلم» learning؛ فالأول يحدث دون تخطيط وبخاصة في فترة الطفولة قبل المدرسة. أما الثاني فيتم وفق خطط معينة تسير وفق معايير محددة من حيث الوقت والمادة التعليمية والطرق المستخدمة... إلخ.

- والذي لا شك فيه أن مسألة اكتساب الطفل لغته الأولى لا تزال تعد من المسائل التي تحيط بها عناصر خفية كثيرة لا تزال عصية على الكشف؛ إذ من الواضح جداً أن الطفل يكتسب لغته الأولى في فترة قصيرة جداً بحيث يستطيع ـ قبل سن المدرسة ـ أن يتواصل مع الكبار بكفاءة لغوية عالية، كيف يحدث ذلك؟ هل يولد كل طفل «بجهاز ما» لاكتساب اللغة، بمعنى أن القدرة على اكتساب اللغة قدرة فطرية مركوزة «بالولادة» innate؟ هذه الأسئلة ليس من اليسير حتى الآن الإجابة عنها إجابة علمية قاطعة.

ولقد أخذ موضوع «اكتساب» اللغة يحظى باهتمام الباحثين في العقود الأخيرة ويكاد يستحوذ على نصيب كبير من بحوثهم.

ومن الواضح أن جميع الأطفال في العالم «يكتسبون» لغتهم الأولى بطريقة واحدة مما دفع العلماء إلى أن يؤمنوا بوجود «ملكة لغوية» «موهوبة endowed للإنسان. ومن ثم يبدو أن هناك «جدولاً» ما للاكتساب يكاد يشبه الجدول البيولوجي في النمو خاصة أن نمو اللغة عند الطفل يرتبط ارتباطاً وثيقاً بنمو «المخ»، على أن ذلك ليس كافياً وحده، بل هناك عناصر اجتماعية كثيرة في بيئة الطفل تتضافر كلها في نموه اللغوي وذلك بأن «يتعرض» exposed باستمرار لما في اللغة من اطراد حتى يستطيع أن

يكتسبها وفقاً لجدول الاكتساب.

وهنا يبرز دور «الراعي للكلام» caretaker speech ذلك أن الكبار لا يستعملون مع الأطفال اللغة نفسها التي يستعملونها بينهم؛ من حيث الموضوعات والألفاظ والتراكيب، بل يلجأون إلى وسائل أخرى - تبين أنها متشابهة في معظم المجتمعات على اختلافها - كاختيار مختصرات من الألفاظ، واستخدام التكرار، والمبالغة في «التنغيم» وغير ذلك. وهذا الدور تهتم به الأم عادة، انظر إلى الحوار الذي سجله الكاتب بين أم وطفلها وأبرز ما تراه فيه من ظواهر.

ونعود الآن إلى الخطوط العامة لجدول الاكتساب، ويمكن عرضها على النحو الآتي:

1 - مراحل ما قبل اللغة pre-language

وفيها يبدأ الطفل في آخر الشهر الثالث ما يعرف «بالمكاغاة» cooing باستخدام أصوات تشبه [k] و [g]. وفي الشهر السادس يستطيع أن «يجلس» و «ينتج» عدداً من الصوائت والصوامت المختلفة، وتعرف هذه المرحلة بمرحلة «البأبأة babbling حيث يكثر إصدار صوت [أ] و [ب] و [d]، وقد يُلاحظ استخدام **«المقطع الواحد»** مثل: mu, da.

وفي الشهر العاشر يطور الطفل مرحلة البأبأة باعطاء نوع من التشكيل للأصوات التي يصدرها لتعبر عن انفعالاته أو مطالبه. ونود أن نشير إلى أن تحديد «العمر» في هذه المرحلة مسألة تقريبية، لكنها مرحلة مهمة جداً في الاكتساب تستدعي المتابعة اليقظة من الأبوين.

مرحلة الكلمة الواحدة أو العبارة الشاملة

يبدأ الطفل في إنتاج وحدة لغوية واحدة فيما بين الشهر الثاني عشر والثامن عشر، حيث ينطق كلمة واحدة عن الأشياء اليومية مثل «حليب»، «قطة»، وقد يعبر عن نفسه في سؤال من مثل «شُدَا» «شو هادا» باللهجة اللبنانية أو «إذا» (إيه دا) باللهجة المصرية، وهو ما يمكن أن يسمى **بالعبارة الشاملة holophrastic**

مرحلة الكلمتين

في الشهر العشرين ينتج الطفل كلمتين تعبران عن رسالة ما عنده، من مثل: «بابا سيارة» «بابا برّة»، والكبار يفسرون هذا التركيب في ضوء السياق المحيط، فقد تدل على جملة خبرية: «هذه سيارة بابا»، أو بابا خرج برّة. ويمكن أن تكون طلباً: بابا أريد «أن أخرج برّة»، وعند اكتمال السنتين يكون الطفل عادة قد امتلك ما يزيد على خمسين كلمة ويعامله مَنْ حوله على أنه مشارك في الحوار.

مرحلة الكلام البرقي

وفيما بين الثانية والثالثة يبدأ الطفل في إنتاج عدد أكبر من «النطوق» utternces ذات كلمات متعددة، ليس ذلك فحسب بل يلاحظ تنوع «صيغ الكلمات»، كما تظهر بعض المورفيمات التصريفية، وتعرف هذه المرحلة بالكلام البرقي telegraphic speech من مثل: رامي يريد موز، قطة تشرب حليب، عروسة دي وِحْشَة، كَلب دا حِلْو. . . ومع ازدياد نشاطه الفيزيقي جرياً وقفزاً تكثر مفرداته إلى المئات ويقترب نطقه من نطق الكبار.

عملية الاكتساب The acquisition process

يجب أن نؤكد مرة أخرى الفرق بين «الاكتساب» و «التعلم» من حيث إن الأول يجري دون تخطيط، ولا يوجد بيت يقرر أن يشرح لطفله المذكر والمؤنث هذا الشهر أو المفرد والجمع أو غير ذلك من الظواهر اللغوية، كما أنه لم يعد مقبولاً الآن أن نقول إن الطفل «يقلد» الكبار تقليداً ببغاوياً، والأقرب إلى الواقع أن نقول إن الطفل يسمع الكبار، ويتعرض كل يوم لتدفق هائل من الكلام، ثم «يكوّن» هو «تراكيبه» اللغوية، ويختبرها ليرى أتعمل أم لا؟ والدليل أنه ينطق كل يوم كلاماً لم يسمعه من قبل، كما يستقبل كلاماً لم يسمعه قط، ومع ذلك يفهمه. هذا والملاحظ أن الكبار قد يصوبون له أخطاءه. ومع ذلك لم يثبت أن هذا التصويب يؤدي إلى أية نتيجة، بل أن الطفل يظل ينتج لغته في المرحلة العمرية لها دون استجابة لأي تصويب. انظر الحوار الذي استشهد به الباحث من حيث إصرار الطفل على صياغة الفعل الإنجليزي في الزمن الماضي بزيارة ed (hold, holded) رغم محاولة أمه لَفْته إلى أنه (held).

والواضح أن الطفل حين يبدأ في استعمال الأصوات وبعض الكلمات يكتسب اللغة من خلال التفاعل مع الآخرين أو من خلال «اللعب بالكلمات»، ونحن نلحظ كثيراً الأطفال في عمر السنتين وهم وحدهم يتكلمون كأنهم يلعبون بالكلمات. ومع ذلك فإن عملية الاكتساب تجري عن طريق الممارسة وليس عن طريق المحاكاة ولا التكرار.

مستويات اللغة

من الملاحظ أن الطفل في اللغات جميعها يسلك السبيل نفسه في اكتساب الصرف والنحو والدلالة؛ فهو يستخلص بطريقة واحدة قواعد كل مستوى، وهو أيضاً يفرط في «التعميم» هذه القواعد؛ ففي العربية مثلاً «يكتسب» الطفل الفرق بين المذكر والمؤنث عن طريق (التاء)، ويقول: حلو - حلوة، كبير - كبيرة. . . ثم يعمم ذلك على الألوان فيقول: أحمر - أحمرة - أصفر - أصفرة. . . . وفي استعماله النفي يستخلص أن كلمة «مس» تدل على النفي في مثل بابا مش نايم، ماما مش هنا، ثم يعمم هذا على نفي الأفعال، فيقول: أنا مش أكلت، ماما مش جت.

يمكنك قراءة التجربة الواقعية التي أجراها الدكتور داود عبده وأخرجها في كتابه «لغة طفلية»

المصطلحات

First language

second language

acquision

language faculty

innateness

endowed

The acquisition schedule:

Expose

Exposure

Caretaker speech

Cooing

Babbling

Syllable

Syllable-type

Holophrastic

Telegraphic speech

Overgeneralization

Imitation

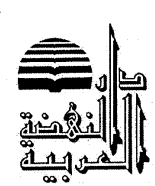
الفهرس

دراسات لغوية

باللغة الإنجليزية

شرح وتعليق

الدكتور عبده الراجحي
أستاذ بجامعتي الإسكندرية وبيروت العربية
عضو مجمع اللغة العربية بالقاهرة



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الزيدانية ـ بناية كريدية ـ الطابق الثاني
تلفون: 736093/ 743167/ 743166 1 961 +
فاكس: 736071/ 735295 1 961 +
ص.ب 0749 - 11 رياض الصلح
بيروت 072060 11 ـ لبنان
بريد ألكتروني: e-mail:darnahda@cyberia.net.lb

دراسات لغوية

باللغة الإنجليزية